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THE

RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS' WORKS.

THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY.

Part I.—THE AGE OF THE DESPOTS.

Part II.—THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

Part III.—THE FINE ARTS.

Part IV.—ITALIAN LITERATURE.
2 vols., with portrait of the author.

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2 vols.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY. Taken by Alfred Pearson from the larger work. 1 vol., 12mo, with portrait.

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A SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

TAKEN FROM THE WORK OF

JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS

BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL ALFRED PEARSON

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PREFACE.

It had been often represented to my husband that his "Renaissance in Italy" in a shorter form would be acceptable to many who are without the leisure or the inclination to take up the subject in the character of students. But though, through stress of other work, he was indisposed to return to the subject, he was quite willing that our friend Colonel Pearson, who has been associated with us for some years at Davos, and who is well acquainted with Italy, should carry out his own views as to what might be interesting and useful to those who would be satisfied with the subject in a more popular form. It will be seen, therefore, that in the choice of his materials Colonel Pearson's object has been to select and arrange for those who know Italy, or hope in the future to do so, whatever may sustain or promote an interest in its history, its art, and its literature. With regard to the success with which this may have been done, it was my husband's thought to

record here the opinion he frequently expressed—that the intention of his large work had been thoroughly appreciated by Colonel Pearson, and its essence reproduced without any important omission. To have seen this reflection of it, in a form which he agreed might attract a larger public than he had appealed to, was, it may be well to add, a source of great pleasure to him during the last winter of his life.

J. C. SYMONDS.

AM HOF, DAVOS PLATZ:
August 11, 1893.

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A SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

RENAISSANCE IN ITALY.

I.

THE SPIRIT OF THE RENAISSANCE.

THE word Renaissance has of late years received a more extended significance than that which is implied in our English equivalent—the Revival of Learning. We use it to denote the whole transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern World; and though it is possible to assign certain limits to the period during which this transition took place, we cannot fix on any dates so positively as to say—between this year and that the movement was accomplished.

Various definitions of the Renaissance.

In like manner we cannot refer the whole phenomena of the Renaissance to any one cause or circumstance, or limit them within the field of any one department of human knowledge. If we ask the students of art what they mean by the Renaissance, they will reply that it was the revolution effected in architecture, painting, and sculpture by the recovery of antique monuments. Students of literature, philosophy, and theology see in the Renaissance that

discovery of manuscripts, that passion for antiquity, that progress in philology and criticism which led to a correct knowledge of the classics, to a fresh taste in poetry, to new systems of thought, to more accurate analysis, and, finally, to the Lutheran schism and the emancipation of the conscience. Men of science will discourse about the discovery of the solar system by Copernicus and Galileo, the anatomy of Vesalius, and Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood. The origination of a truly scientific method is the point which interests them most in the Renaissance. The political historian, again, has his own answer to the question. The extinction of feudalism, the development of the great nationalities of Europe, the growth of monarchy, the limitation of ecclesiastical authority and the erection of the Papacy into an Italian kingdom, and, in the last place, the gradual emergence of that sense of popular freedom which exploded in the Revolution: these are the aspects of the movement which engross his attention. Jurists will describe the dissolution of legal fictions based upon the false decretals, the acquisition of a true text of the Roman Code, and the attempt to introduce a rational method into the theory of modern jurisprudence, as well as to commence the study of international law. Men whose attention has been turned to the history of discoveries and inventions will relate the exploration of America and the East, or will point to the benefits conferred upon the world by the arts of printing and engraving, by the compass and the telescope, by paper and by gunpowder; and will insist that at the moment of the Renaissance all these instances of mechanical utility started into existence to aid the dissolution of what was rotten and must perish,

to strengthen and perpetuate the new and useful and life-giving.

Yet neither any one of these answers taken separately, nor, indeed, all of them together, will offer a solution of the problem. By the term Renaissance, or new birth, is indicated a natural movement, not to be explained by this or that characteristic, but to be accepted as an effort of humanity for which at length the time had come, and in the onward progress of which we still participate. The history of the Renaissance is not the history of arts, or of sciences, or of literature, or even of nations. It is the history of the attainment of self-conscious freedom to the human spirit manifested in the European races. It is no mere political mutation, no new fashion of art, no restoration of classical standards of taste. The arts and the inventions, the knowledge and the books, which suddenly became vital at the time of the Renaissance, had long lain neglected on the shores of the Dead Sea, which we call the Middle Ages. It was not their discovery which caused the Renaissance; but it was the intellectual energy, the spontaneous outburst of intelligence, which enabled mankind at that moment to make use of them. The force then generated still continues, vital and expansive, in the spirit of the modern world.

It was a mental evolution.

How was it, then, that at a certain period, about fourteen centuries after Christ, to speak roughly, the intellect of the Western races awoke as it were from slumber and began once more to be active? That is a question which we can but imperfectly answer. But a glance at the history of the preceding centuries shows that, after the dissolution of the fabric of the Roman Empire,

Certain conditions were required for it.

there was no immediate possibility of any intellectual revival. The barbarous races which had deluged Europe had to absorb their barbarism; the fragments of Roman civilization had either to be destroyed or assimilated; the Germanic nations had to receive culture and religion from the people they had superseded; the Church had to be created, and a new form given to the old idea of the Empire. It was further necessary that the modern nationalities should be defined, that the modern languages should be formed, that peace should be secured to some extent and wealth accumulated, before the indispensable conditions for a resurrection of the free spirit of humanity could exist. The first nation which fulfilled these conditions was the first to inaugurate the new era. The reason why Italy took the lead in the Renaissance was that Italy possessed a language, a favorable climate, political freedom, and commercial prosperity, at a time when other nations were still semi-barbarous.

There were signs of its advent.

At the same time it must not be supposed that the Renaissance burst suddenly upon the world in the fifteenth century without premonitory symptoms. Within the middle age, over and over again, the reason strove to break loose from its fetters. The ideas projected thus early were immature and abortive, and the nations were not ready for them. Franciscans imprisoning Roger Bacon for venturing to examine what God had meant to keep secret; Dominicans preaching crusades against the cultivated nobles of Toulouse; Popes stamping out the seed of enlightened Frederick; Benedictines erasing the masterpieces of classical literature to make way for their litanies, or selling pieces of parchment for charms; a

laity given up to superstition; a clergy sunk in sensual sloth, or fevered with demoniac zeal: these still ruled the intellectual condition of Europe. It was, therefore, only at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Italy had lost indeed the heroic spirit which we admire in her Communes of the thirteenth, but had gained instead ease, wealth, magnificence, and that repose which springs from long prosperity, that the new age at last began.

The view of life in the Middle Ages.

During the Middle Ages man had lived enveloped in a cowl. He had not seen the beauty of the world, or had seen it only to cross himself and turn aside, to tell his beads and pray. Like St. Bernard travelling along the shores of Lake Leman, and noticing neither the azure of the waters, nor the luxuriance of the vines, nor the radiance of the mountains with their robe of sun and snow, but bending a thought-burdened forehead over the neck of his mule; even like this monk, humanity had passed, a careful pilgrim, intent on the terrors of sin, death, and judgment, along the highways of the world, and had scarcely known that they were sightworthy, or that life is a blessing. Beauty is a snare, pleasure a sin, the world a fleeting show, man fallen and lost, death the only certainty; ignorance is acceptable to God as a proof of faith and submission; abstinence and mortification are the only safe rules of life: these were the fixed ideas of the ascetic mediæval Church. The Renaissance questioned and shattered them, rending the thick veil which they had drawn between the mind of man and the outer world, and flashing the light of reason upon the darkened places of his own nature. For the mystic teaching of the Church

was substituted culture in the classical humanities; a new ideal was established, whereby man strove to make himself the monarch of the globe on which it is his privilege as well as destiny to live. The Renaissance was the liberation of the reason from a dungeon, the double discovery of the outer and the inner world.

The awakening to a new ideal.

An external event determined the direction which this outburst of the spirit of freedom should take. This was the contact of the modern with the ancient mind, which followed upon what is called the Revival of Learning. The fall of the Greek Empire in 1453, while it signalized the extinction of the old order, gave an impulse to the now accumulated forces of the new. A belief in the identity of the human spirit under all previous manifestations, and in its uninterrupted continuity, was generated. Men found that in classical as well as Biblical antiquity existed an ideal of human life, both moral and intellectual, by which they might profit in the present. The modern genius felt confidence in its own energies when it learned what the ancients had achieved. The guesses of the ancients stimulated the exertions of the moderns. The whole world's history seemed once more to be one.

A fresh inspiration in art.

During the Middle Ages, again, the plastic arts, like philosophy, had degenerated into barren and meaningless scholasticism—a frigid reproduction of lifeless forms copied technically and without inspiration from debased patterns. Pictures became symbolically connected with the religious feelings of the people, formulæ from which to deviate would be impious in the artist, and confusing to the worshipper. Superstitious reverence bound the

painter to copy the almond-shaped eyes and stiff joints of the saints whom he had adored from infancy; and, even if it had been otherwise, he lacked the skill to imitate the natural forms he saw around him. But with the dawning of the Renaissance a new spirit in the arts arose. Men began to conceive that the human body is noble in itself and worthy of patient study. The object of the artist then became to unite devotional feeling and respect for the sacred legend with the utmost beauty, and the utmost fidelity of delineation. In a word, he humanized the altar-pieces and the cloister frescoes upon which he worked. Finally, when the classics came to aid this work of progress, a new world of thought and fancy was revealed to their astonished eyes.

The enthusiasm for classical knowledge.

It was scholarship, first and last, which revealed to men the wealth of their own minds, the dignity of human thought, the value of human speculation, the importance of human life regarded as a thing apart from religious rules and dogmas. During the Middle Ages a few students had possessed the poems of Virgil and the prose of Boethius, together with fragments of Lucan, Ovid, Statius, Juvenal, Cicero, and Horace. The Renaissance opened to the whole reading public the treasure-houses of Greek and Latin literature. At the same time the Bible in its original tongues was rediscovered. Mines of Oriental learning were laid bare for the students of the Jewish and Arabic traditions. The Aryan and Semitic revelations were for the first time subjected to something like a critical comparison. It was an age of accumulation, of uncritical and indiscriminate enthusiasm. Manuscripts were wor-

shipped as reliques from the Holy Land had been worshipped a few generations before. What is most remarkable about this age of scholarship is the enthusiasm which pervaded all classes. Popes and princes, captains of adventure and peasants, noble ladies and the leaders of the demi-monde, alike became scholars.

The legend of Julia.

There is a story told by Infessura which illustrates the temper of the times with singular felicity. On April 18, 1485, a report circulated in Rome that some Lombard workmen had discovered a Roman sarcophagus while digging on the Appian Way. It was a marble tomb, with the inscription "*Julia, daughter of Claudius;*" and inside lay the body of a beautiful girl of fifteen years, preserved by precious unguents from corruption. The bloom of youth was still upon her cheeks and lips; her eyes and mouth were half open; her long hair floated round her shoulders. She was instantly removed—so goes the legend—to the Capitol; and then pilgrims from all the quarters of Rome flocked to gaze upon this saint of the old Pagan world. In the eyes of these enthusiastic worshippers, her beauty was beyond imagination or description; she was far fairer than any woman of the modern age could hope to be. At last Innocent VIII. feared lest the orthodox faith would suffer by this new cult of a heathen corpse, and Julia was buried secretly and at night by his directions. This tale is repeated in Matarazzo and in Nantiporto with slight variation; in one the girl's hair is said to have been yellow, in the other glossy black. What foundation there may be for the legend is beyond our inquiry; but there is a curious document on the subject in a Latin letter,

which has not been published, from Bartholomæus Fontius to his friend Franciscus Saxethus, minutely describing the corpse, as if he had not only seen but had handled it. We may at least use the mythus as a parable of the ecstatic devotion which prompted the men of that age to discover a form of unimaginable beauty in a tomb of the classic world.

Then came the age of the critics, philologers, and painters. They began their task by digesting and arranging the contents of the libraries. There were then no short cuts to learning, no comprehensive lexicons, no dictionaries of antiquities, no carefully prepared thesauri of mythology and history. Each student had to hold in his brain the whole mass of classical erudition. The text and the canon of Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and the tragedians had to be decided. Florence, Venice, Basle, Lyons, and Paris groaned with printing presses. The Aldi, the Stephani, and Froben toiled by night and day, employing scores of scholars, men of supreme devotion and of mighty brain, whose work it was to ascertain the right reading of sentences, to accentuate, to punctuate, to commit to the press, and to place beyond the reach of monkish hatred or of envious time that everlasting solace of humanity which exists in the classics. All subsequent achievements in the field of scholarship sink into insignificance beside the labors of these men who needed genius, enthusiasm, and the sympathy of Europe for the accomplishment of their titanic task. Virgil was printed in 1470, Homer in 1488, Aristotle in 1498, Plato in 1513. They then became the inalienable heritage of mankind.

The difficulties to be overcome.

Its effect on theology.

Not only did scholarship restore the classics and encourage literary criticism; it also encouraged theological criticism. In the wake of theological freedom followed a free philosophy, no longer subject to the dogmas of the Church. To purge the Christian faith from false conceptions and to interpret religion to the reason has been the work of succeeding centuries. The whole movement of the Reformation is equally a phase in that accelerated action of the modern mind which at its commencement we call the Renaissance. It is a mistake to regard the Reformation as an isolated phenomenon, or as an effort to restore the Church to purity. It exhibits in the region of religious thought and national politics what the Renaissance displays in the sphere of culture, art, and science—the recovered energy and freedom of the reason. In this awakening it was not without its mediæval anticipations and foreshadowings. The heretics whom the Church successfully combated in North Italy, France, and Bohemia were the precursors of Luther. The scholars prepared the way in the fifteenth century. Teachers of Hebrew, founders of Hebrew type—Reuchlin in Germany, Alexander in Paris, Von Hutten as a pamphleteer, and Erasmus as a humanist—contribute each a definite momentum. Luther, for his part, incarnates the spirit of revolt against tyrannical authority, urges the necessity of a return to the essential truth of Christianity as distinguished from the idols of the Church, and asserts the right of the individual to judge, interpret, criticise, and construct opinion for himself. The veil which the Church had interposed between the human soul and God

was broken down. The freedom of the conscience was established.

The impetus it gave to science.

It remains only to speak of the mechanical inventions which aided the emancipation of the spirit in the modern age. Discovered over and over again, and offered at intervals to the human race at various times and on divers soils, no effective use was made of these material resources until the fifteenth century. The compass, discovered according to tradition by Gioja of Naples in 1302, was employed by Columbus for the voyage to America in 1492. The telescope, known to the Arabians in the Middle Ages, and described by Roger Bacon in 1250, helped Copernicus to prove the revolution of the earth in 1530, and Galileo to substantiate his theory of the planetary system. Printing, after numerous useless revelations to the world of its resources, became an art in 1438; and paper, which had long been known to the Chinese, was first made of cotton in Europe about 1000, and of rags in 1319. Gunpowder entered into use about 1320, and in no long time revolutionized the art of war. The feudal castle, the armor of the knight and his battle-horse, the prowess of one man against a hundred, and the pride of the aristocratic cavalry trampling upon ill-armed militia, lost their superiority with the invention of cannon. Such reflections as these, however, are trite, and must occur to every mind. It is more to the purpose to say that not these inventions, but the intelligence that used them, the conscious calculating spirit of the modern world, should rivet our attention when we direct it to the phenomena of the Renaissance.

The credit attributable to Italy.

In the work of the Renaissance all the great nations of Europe shared. But it must never be forgotten that, as a matter of history, the true Renaissance began in Italy. It was there that the essential qualities which distinguish the modern from the ancient and the mediæval world were developed. Italy created that new spiritual atmosphere of culture and of intellectual freedom which has been the life-breath of the European races. As the Jews are called the chosen and peculiar people of Divine revelation, so may the Italians be called the chosen and peculiar vessels of the prophecy of the Renaissance. In art, in scholarship, in science, in the mediation between antique culture and the modern intellect, they took the lead, handing to Germany and France and England the restored humanities complete. Spain and England have since done more for the exploration and colonization of the world. Germany achieved the labor of the Reformation almost single-handed. France has collected, centralized, and diffused intelligence with irresistible energy. But, if we return to the first origins of the Renaissance, we find that, at a time when the rest of Europe was inert, Italy had already begun to organize the various elements of the modern spirit, and to set the fashion whereby the other great nations should learn and live.

II.

THE RISE OF THE COMMUNES.

MODERN Italian history may be said to begin with the retirement of Honorius to Ravenna, and the subsequent foundation of Odoacer's kingdom in 476. The Western Empire ended, and Rome was again recognized as a republic. When the Greek Emperor Zeno sent the Goths into Italy, Theodoric established himself at Ravenna, continued the institutions and usages of the ancient Empire, and sought to naturalize his alien authority. Rome he respected as the sacred city of ancient culture and civility. Her Consuls, appointed by the Senate, were confirmed in due course by the Greek Emperor; and Theodoric made himself the vicegerent of the Cæsars rather than an independent sovereign. When we criticise the Ostro-Gothic occupation by the light of subsequent history, it is clear that this exclusion of the capital from Theodoric's conquest and his veneration for the Eternal City were fatal to the unity of the Italian realm. From the moment that Rome was separated from the authority of the Italian kings there existed two powers in the Peninsula—the one secular, monarchical, with the military strength of the barbarians imposed upon its ancient municipal organization; the other ecclesiastical, pontifical, relying on the undefined ambition of

S. Peter's See and the unconquered instincts of the Roman people scattered through the still surviving cities.

The Lombard conquest.

Justinian, bent upon asserting his rights as the successor of the Cæsars, wrested Italy from the hands of the Goths; but scarcely was this revolution effected when Narses, the successor of Belisarius, called a new nation of barbarians to support his policy in Italy. Narses died before the advent of the Lombards; but they descended in forces far more formidable than the Goths, and established a second kingdom at Pavia.

Its disintegrating effect.

Under the Lombard domination Rome was again left untouched. Venice, with her population gathered from the ruins of the neighboring Roman cities, remained in quasi-subjection to the Empire of the East; Ravenna became a Greek garrison, ruling the Exarchate and Pentapolis under the name of the Byzantine Emperors. The Western coast escaped the Lombard domination; for Genoa grew slowly into power upon her narrow cornice between hills and sea, while Pisa defied the barbarians intrenched in military stations at Fiesole and Lucca. In like manner the islands, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, were detached from the Lombard kingdom; and the maritime cities of Southern Italy, Bari, Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta, asserted independence under the shadow of the Greek ascendency. What the Lombards achieved in their conquest, and what they failed to accomplish, decided the future of Italy. They broke the country up into unequal blocks; for while the inland regions of the north obeyed Pavia, while the great duchies of Spoleto in the centre and of Bene-

vento in the south owned the nominal sway of Alboin's successors, Venice and the Riviera, Pisa and the maritime republics of Apulia and Calabria, Ravenna and the islands, repelled their sovereignty. Rome remained inviolable beneath the ægis of her ancient prestige; and the decadent Empire of the East was too inert to check the freedom of the towns which recognized its titular supremacy.

Not long after their settlement the princes of the Lombard race took the fatal step of joining the Catholic communion, whereby they strengthened the hands of Rome and excluded themselves from tyrannizing in the last resort over the growing independence of the Papal See. The causes of their conversion from Arianism to orthodox Latin Christianity are buried in obscurity; but it is probable that they were driven to this measure by the rebelliousness of their great vassals and the necessity of resting for support upon the indigenous populations they had subjugated. Rome, profiting by the errors and the weakness of her antagonists, extended her spiritual dominion by enforcing sacraments, ordeals, and appeals to ecclesiastical tribunals, organized her hierarchy under Gregory the Great, and lost no opportunity of enriching and aggrandizing her bishoprics. In 718 she shook off the yoke of Byzantium by repelling the heresies of Leo the Isaurian; and when this insurrection menaced her with the domestic tyranny of the Lombard kings, who possessed themselves of Ravenna in 728, she called the Franks to her aid against the now powerful realm. Stephen II. journeyed in 753 to Gaul, named Pippin Patrician of Rome, and invited him to the conquest of

Rome calls for assistance upon Charles the Great.

Italy. In the war that followed the Franks subdued the Lombards, and Charles the Great was invested with their kingdom, and crowned Emperor in 800 by Leo III. at Rome.

The compact between Charles the Great and the Pope.

The famous compact between Charles the Great and the Pope was in effect a ratification of the existing state of things. The new Emperor took for himself and converted into a Frankish kingdom all the provinces that had been wrested from the Lombards. He relinquished to the Papacy Rome with its patrimony, the portions of Spoleto and Benevento that had already yielded to the See of S. Peter, the southern provinces that owned the nominal ascendency of Byzantium, the islands and the cities of the Exarchate and Pentapolis which formed no part of the Lombard conquest. By this stipulation no real power was accorded to the Papacy, nor did the new Empire surrender its paramount rights over the peninsula at large. The Italian kingdom transferred to the Franks in 800 was the kingdom founded by the Lombards; while the outlying and unconquered districts were placed beneath the protectorate of the power which had guided their emancipation.

The Empire and the Papacy extend their sway.

Thus the dualism introduced into Italy by Theodoric's veneration for Rome, and confirmed by the failure of the Lombard conquest, was ratified by the settlement which established a new Empire in Western Christendom. Venice, Pisa, Genoa, and the maritime republics of the South, excluded from the kingdom, were left to pursue their own course; and this is the chief among many reasons why they rose so early into prominence.

Rome consolidated her ancient patrimonies and extended her rectorship in the centre, while the Frankish kings who succeeded each other at Pavia through eight reigns developed their rule upon feudal principles by parcelling the lands among their counts. New marches were formed, traversing the previous Lombard fabric, and introducing divisions that decentralized the kingdom. Thus the great vassals of Ivrea, Verona, Tuscany, and Spoleto raised themselves against Pavia; and when Berengar, the last independent sovereign, strove to enforce his declining authority he was met with the hatred and resistance of his subjects.

The Lombard kingdom is extinguished.

The kingdom Berengar attempted to maintain against his vassals and the Church was virtually abrogated by Otho I., whom the Lombard nobles summoned into Italy. When he appeared in 961, he was crowned Emperor at Rome and assumed the title of King of Italy. Thus the Lombard kingdom, after enduring for two centuries, was merged in the Empire; and from this time the two great potentates in the peninsula were an unarmed Pontiff and an absent Emperor. The subsequent history of the Italians shows how they succeeded in reducing both these powers to the condition of principles; maintaining the pontifical and imperial ideas, but repelling the practical authority of either potentate. Otho created new marches and gave them to men of German origin. Thus the ancient Italy of Lombards and Franks was superseded by a new Italy of German feudalism, owing allegiance to a suzerain whose interests detained him in the provinces beyond the Alps.

The cities gain importance under the shadow of the Church.

At the same time the organization of the Church was fortified. The bishops were placed on an equality with the counts in the chief cities, and viscounts were created to represent their civil jurisdiction. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of Otho's concessions to the bishops. During the preceding period of Frankish rule about one-third of the soil of Italy had been yielded to the Church, which had the right of freeing its vassals from military service; and since the ecclesiastical sees were founded upon ancient sites of Roman civilization, without regard to the military centres of the barbarian kingdoms, the new privileges of the bishops accrued to the indigenous population. Milan, for example, downtrodden by Pavia, still remained the major see of Lombardy. Aquileia, though a desert, had her patriarch, while Cividale, established as a fortress to coerce the neighboring Roman towns, was ecclesiastically but a village. At this epoch a third power emerged in Italy. Berengar had given the cities permission to inclose themselves with walls in order to repel the invasions of the Huns. Otho respected their right of self-defence, and from the date of his coronation the history of the free-burghs begins in Italy. It is at first closely connected with the changes wrought by the extinction of the kingdom of Pavia, by the exaltation of the clergy, and by the dislocation of the previous system of feud-holding which followed upon Otho's determination to remodel the country in the interest of the German Empire. The ancient landmarks of nobility were altered and confused. The cities under their bishops assumed a novel character of independence. Those of Roman origin,

being ecclesiastical centres, had a distinct advantage over the more recent foundations of the Lombard and the Frankish monarchs. The Italic population everywhere emerged and displayed a vitality that had been crushed and overlaid by centuries of invasion and military oppression.

The form of government adopted by the cities.

The burghs at this epoch may be regarded as luminous points in the dense darkness of feudal aristocracy. Gathering round their cathedral as a centre, the towns inclose their dwellings with walls and bastions, from which they gaze upon a country bristling with castles, occupied by serfs, and lorded over by the hierarchical nobility. Within the city the bishop and the count hold equal sway; but the bishop has upon his side the sympathies and passions of the burghers. The first effort of the towns is to expel the count from their midst. Some accident of misrule infuriates the citizens. They fly to arms and are supported by the bishop. The count has to retire to the open country, where he strengthens himself in his castle. Then the bishop remains victor in the town, and forms a government of rich and noble burghers, who control with him the fortunes of the new-born State. The constitution of the city at this early period was simple. At the head of its administration stood the bishop, with the *Popolo* of enfranchised burghers. The *Commune* included the *Popolo*, together with the non-qualified inhabitants, and was represented by consuls, varying in number according to the division of the town into quarters. Thus the Commune and the Popolo were originally separate bodies, and this distinction has been perpetuated in the architecture of those towns which still can

show a *Palazzo del Popolo* apart from the *Palazzo del Commune*. Since the affairs of the city had to be conducted by discussion, we find councils corresponding to the constituent elements of the burgh. There is the *Parlemento*, in which the inhabitants meet together to hear the decisions of the bishop and the Popolo, or to take measures in extreme cases that affect the city as a whole; the *Gran Consiglio*, which is only open to duly-qualified members of the Popolo; and the *Credenza*, or privy council of specially delegated burghers, who debate on matters demanding secrecy and diplomacy. Such, generally speaking, and without regard to local differences, was the internal constitution of an Italian city during the supremacy of the bishops.

Southern Italy comes under the Papal sway.

In the North of Italy not a few of the greater vassals, among whom may be mentioned the Houses of Canossa, Montferrat, Savoy, and Este, creations of the Salic Emperors, looked with favor upon the development of the towns, while some nobles went so far as to constitute themselves feudatories of bishops. At the same time, while Lombardy and Tuscany were establishing their municipal liberties, a sympathetic movement began in Southern Italy which resulted in the conquest of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily by the Normans. Omitting all the details of this episode, than which nothing more dramatic is presented in the history of modern nations, it must be enough to point out here that the Normans finally severed Italy from the Greek Empire, gave a monarchical stamp to the south of the peninsula, and brought the government into the sphere of national politics under the protection of the Pope. Up to the date of its conquest Southern Italy had a

separate and confused history. It now entered the Italian community, and, by the peculiar circumstances of its cession to the Holy See, was destined in the future to become the chief instrument whereby the Popes disturbed the equilibrium of the peninsula in furtherance of their ambitious schemes.

The influence of Milan under her archbishop, Heribert.

The greatness of the Roman cities under the popular rule of their bishops is illustrated by Milan, second only to Rome in the last days of the Empire. Milan had been reduced to abject misery by the kings, who spared no pains to exalt Pavia at the expense of her elder sister. After the dissolution of the kingdom she started into new life, and in 1037 her archbishop, Heribert, was singled out by Conrad II. as the protagonist of the episcopal revolution against feudalism. Heribert was, in truth, the hero of the burghs in their first strife for independence. It was he who devised the *Carroccio*, an immense car drawn by oxen, bearing the banner of the Commune, with an altar and priests ministrant, around which the pikemen of the city mustered when they went to war. This invention of Heribert's was soon adopted by the cities throughout Italy. It gave cohesion and confidence to the citizens, reminded them that the Church was on their side in the struggle for freedom, and served as symbol of their military strength in union. The first authentic records of a Parliament, embracing the nobles of the Popolo, the clergy, and the multitude, are transmitted to us by the Milanese Chronicles, in which Heribert figures as the president of a republic. From this date Milan takes the lead in the contests for municipal independence. Her institutions, like that of the *Carroccio*,

together with her tameless spirit, are communicated to the neighboring cities of Lombardy, cross the Apennines, and animate the ancient burghs of Tuscany.

The privileges obtained through Gregory VII.

Having founded their liberties upon the episcopal presidency, the cities now proceeded to claim the right of choosing their own bishops. They refused the prelates sent them by the Emperor, and demanded an election by the chapters of each town. This privilege was virtually won when the War of Investitures broke out in 1073. After the death of Gregory VI. in 1046, the Emperors resolved to enforce their right of nominating the Popes. The first two prelates imposed on Rome, Clement II. and Damasus II., died under suspicion of poison. Thus the Roman people refused a foreign Pope, as the Lombards had rejected the bishops sent to rule them. The next Popes, Leo IX. and Victor II., were persuaded by Hildebrand, who now appears upon the stage, to undergo a second election at Rome by the clergy and the people. They escaped assassination. But the fifth, Stephen X., again died suddenly, and now the formidable monk of Soana felt himself powerful enough to cause the election of his own candidate, Nicholas II. A Lateran Council, inspired by Hildebrand, transferred the election of Popes to the Cardinals, and confirmed the privilege of cities to choose their bishops, subject to Papal ratification. In 1073 Hildebrand assumed the tiara as Gregory VII., and declared a war that lasted more than forty years against the Empire. At its close in 1122 the Church and the Empire were counterpoised as mutually exclusive autocracies, the one claiming illimitable spiritual sway, the

other recognized as no less illimitably paramount in civil society.

The rivalry of the cities.

One of the earliest manifestations of municipal vitality was the war of city against city, which began to blaze with fury in the first half of the twelfth century, and endured so long as free towns lasted to perpetuate the conflict. No sooner had the burghs established themselves beneath the presidency of their consuls than they turned the arms they had acquired in the war of independence against their neighbors. The phenomenon was not confined to any single district. It revealed a new necessity in the very constitution of the commonwealths. Penned up within the narrow limits of their petty dependencies, throbbing with fresh life, overflowing with a populace inured to warfare, demanding channels for their energies in commerce, competing with each other on the paths of industry, they clashed in deadliest duels for breathing space and means of wealth. The occasions that provoked one commune to declare war upon its rival were trivial. The animosity was internecine and persistent, embittered by the partisanship of Papal and Imperial principles. Therefore, when Frederick Barbarossa was elected in 1152, his first thought was to reduce the Garden of the Empire to order. Soon after his election he descended into Lombardy and formed two leagues among the cities of the North—the one headed by Pavia, the centre of the abrogated kingdom, the other by Milan, who inherited the majesty of Rome, and contained within her loins the future of Italian freedom. It will be enough for our present purpose to remember that in the course of that long contention both leagues made common cause against the Emperor,

drew the Pope, Alexander III., into their quarrel, and finally routed the Imperial forces in 1183 near the small village of Legnano, to the north of Milan. By the Peace of Constance, which followed, the autonomy of all the cities was amply guaranteed and recognized.

The Communes acquire more freedom.

The advantages won by Milan, who sustained the brunt of the Imperial onslaughts, and by the splendor of her martyrdom surmounted the petty jealousies of her municipal rivals, were extended to the cities of Tuscany. After the date of that compact, signed by the Emperor and his insurgent subjects, the burghs obtained an assured position as a third power between the Empire and the Church. The most remarkable point in the history of this contention is the unanimous submission of the Communes to what they regarded as the just suzerainty of Cæsar's representative. Though they were omnipotent in Lombardy, they took no measures for closing the gates of the Alps against the Germans. The Emperor was free to come and go as he listed; and when peace was signed, he reckoned the burghers who had beaten him by arms and policy among his loyal vassals. Still, the spirit of independence in Italy had been amply asserted. This is notably displayed in the address presented to Frederick, before his coronation, by the senate of Rome. Regenerated by Arnold of Brescia's revolutionary mission, the Roman people assumed its antique majesty in these remarkable words: "Thou wast a stranger, I have made thee citizen; thou camest from regions beyond the Alps, I have conferred on thee the principality." Presumptuous boast as this sounded in the ears of Frederick, it proved that the Communes were now taking their ground against

the Church and the barbarians. They still recognized the Empire, because the Empire reflected the glory of Italy, and was the crown which gave to its people the presidency of civilization. They still recognized the authority of the Church, because the Church was the eldest daughter of Italy emergent from the wreck of Roman society. But the Communes had become conscious of their right to stand apart from either.

The nobles lose in authority.

Strengthened by their contest with Frederick Barbarossa, recognized in their rights as belligerent powers, and left to their own guidance by the Empire, the cities were now free to prosecute their wars upon the remnants of feudalism. The town, as we have learnt to know it, was overlooked from neighboring heights by castles, where the nobles still held undisputed authority over serfs of the soil. Against these dominating fortresses every city, with singular unanimity, directed the forces it had formed in the preceding conflicts. At the same time, the municipal struggles of commune against commune lost none of their virulence. The counts, pressed on all sides by the towns that had grown up around them, adopted the policy of pitting one burgh against another. When a noble was attacked by the township nearest his castle, he espoused the animosities of a more distant city, compromised his independence by accepting its captaincy, and thus became the servant or ally of a republic. In his desperation he emancipated his serfs; and so the country-folk chiefly profited by these dissensions between the cities and their feudal masters. This new phase of republican evolution lasted over a long and ill-defined period, assuming different characters in different centres; but the end of it was that the nobles were

forced to submit to the cities. They were admitted to the burgherships, and agreed to spend a certain portion of every year in the palaces they raised within the circuit of the walls. Thus the counts placed themselves beneath the jurisdiction of the consuls, and the Italic population absorbed into itself the relics of Lombard, Frank, and German aristocracy.

A Justice of the Peace instituted.

Still, the gain upon the side of the republics was not clear. Though the feudal lordship of the nobles had been destroyed, their wealth, their lands, and their prestige remained untouched. In the city they felt themselves but aliens. Their real home was still the castle on the neighboring mountain. Nor, when they stooped to become burghers had they relinquished the use of arms. Instead of building peaceable dwelling-houses in the city, they filled its quarters with fortresses and towers, whence they carried on feuds among themselves, and imperilled the safety of the streets. The authority of the consuls proved insufficient to maintain an equilibrium between the people and the nobles. Accordingly, a new magistrate started into being, combining the offices of supreme justiciary and military dictator. When Frederick Barbarossa attempted to govern the rebellious Lombard cities in the common interest of the Empire, he established in their midst a foreign judge, called Podestà, "*quasi habens potestatem Imperatoris in hac parte.*" This institution only served at the moment to inflame and embitter the resistance of the Communes ; but the title of Podestà was subsequently conferred upon the official summoned to maintain an equal balance between the burghers and the nobles. The lordship of the burgh still resided with the consuls, who from this time forward

began to lose their individuality in the college of the *Signoria*—called *Priori*, *Anziani*, or *Rettori*, as the case might be in various districts.

The Italian republics had reached this stage when Frederick II. united the Empire and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. It was a crisis of the utmost moment for Italian independence. Master of the south, Frederick sought to reconquer the lost prerogatives of the Empire in Lombardy and Tuscany; nor is it impossible that he might have succeeded in uniting Italy beneath his sway but for the violent animosity of the Church. The warfare of extermination carried on by the Popes against the House of Hohenstauffen was no proof of their partiality for the cause of freedom. They dreaded the reality of a kingdom that should base itself on Italy and be the rival of their own authority. Therefore they espoused the cause of the free burghs against Frederick, and when the north was devastated by his vicars, they preached a crusade against Ezzelino da Romano.

The opposition of the Papacy to Frederick II.

While Frederick foreshadowed the comparatively modern tyrants of the coming age, Ezzelino da Romano, his vicar in the north of Italy, represented the atrocities towards which they always tended to degenerate. Regarding himself with a sort of awful veneration as the divinely-appointed scourge of humanity, this monster in his lifetime was execrated as an aberration from "the kindly race of men," and after his death he became the hero of a fiendish mythus. But in the succeeding centuries of Italian history his kind was only too common; the immorality with which he worked out his selfish

Ezzelino da Romano.

aims was systematically adopted, as we shall see, by princes like the Visconti, and reduced to rule by theorists like Machiavelli. Ezzelino, a small, pale, wiry man, with terror in his face, and enthusiasm for evil in his heart, lived a foe to luxury, cold to the pathos of children, dead to the enchantment of women. His one passion was the greed of power, heightened by the lust for blood. Originally a noble of the Veronese Marches, he founded his illegal authority upon the captaincy of the Imperial party delegated to him by Frederick. Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Feltre, and Belluno conferred on him judicial as well as military supremacy. How he fearfully abused his power, how a crusade was preached against him, and how he died in silence like a boar at bay, rending from his wounds the dressings that his foes had placed there to keep him alive, are notorious matters of history. At Padua alone he erected eight prisons, two of which contained as many as three hundred captives each; and though the executioner never ceased to ply his trade there, they were always full. These dungeons were designed to torture by their noisomeness, their want of air and light and space. Ezzelino made himself terrible not merely by executions and imprisonments, but also by mutilations and torments. When he captured Friola he caused the population of all ages, sexes, occupations, to be deprived of their eyes, noses, and legs, and to be cast forth to the mercy of the elements. On another occasion he walled up a family of princes in a castle and left them to die of famine. Wealth, eminence, and beauty attracted his displeasure no less than insubordination or disobedience. Nor was he less crafty than cruel. Sons betrayed their fathers, friends

their comrades, under the fallacious safeguard of his promises. A gigantic instance of his scheming was the *coup-de-main* by which he succeeded in entrapping 11,000 Paduan soldiers, only 200 of whom escaped the miseries of his prisons. Thus by his absolute contempt of law, his inordinate cruelty, his prolonged massacres, and his infliction of plagues upon the whole peoples, Ezzelino established the ideal in Italy of a tyrant marching to his end by any means whatever. In vain was the humanity of the race revolted by the hideous spectacle. Vainly did the monks assemble pity-stricken multitudes upon the plain of Paquara to atone with tears and penitence for the insults offered to the saints in heaven by Ezzelino's fury. It laid a deep hold upon the Italian imagination, and by the glamour of loathing that has strength to fascinate proved in the end contagious.

Guelfs and Ghibellines.

In the controversy that shook Italy from north to south the parties of Guelf and Ghibelline, of the Papacy and the Empire respectively, took shape and acquired an ineradicable force. All the previous humors and discords of the nation were absorbed by them. The Guelf party meant the people of the Communes, the men of industry and commerce, the upholders of civil liberty, the friends of democratic expansion. The Ghibelline party included the naturalized nobles, the men of arms and idleness, the advocates of feudalism, the politicians who regarded constitutional progress with disfavor. Divided by irreconcilable ideals, each side became eager to possess the city for itself, each prepared to die for its adopted principles. The victorious party then organizes the government in its own interest.

establishes itself in a palazzo apart from the Commune, where it develops its machinery at home and abroad, and strengthens its finances by forced contributions and confiscations. The exiles make common cause with members of their own faction in an adverse burgh; and thus the most distant centres are drawn into the network of a common dualism. In this way, we are justified in saying, Italy achieved her national consciousness through strife and conflict; for the Communes ceased to be isolated, cemented by temporary leagues or engaged in merely local dissensions. They were brought together and connected by the sympathies and antipathies of an antagonism which embraced and dominated the municipalities, and merged the titular leaders of the struggle, Pope and Emperor, in the uncontrollable tumult.

The depth of their party feeling.

Society was riven down to its foundation. Rancors dating from the thirteenth century endured long after the great parties ceased to have a meaning. They were perpetuated in customs and expressed themselves in the most trivial details. Banners, ensigns, and heraldic colors followed the divisions of the factions. Ghibellines wore feathers in their caps upon one side, Guelfs upon the other. Ghibellines cut fruit at table crosswise, Guelfs straight down. In Bergamo some Calabrians were murdered by their host, who discovered by their way of slicing garlic that they sided with the hostile party. Ghibellines drank out of smooth, and Guelfs out of chased, goblets. Ghibellines wore white, and Guelfs red, roses. Yawning, passing in the street, throwing dice, gestures in speaking or swearing, were used as pretexts for distinguishing one half of Italy

from the other. So late as the middle of the fifteenth century, the Ghibellines of Milan tore the crucifix from the high altar of the Cathedral at Crema and buried it, because the face turned to the Guelf shoulder. Every great city has a tale of love and death that carries the contention of its adverse families into the region of romance and legend. The story of Romeo and Juliet at Verona is a myth which brings both factions into play: the well-meaning intervention of peace-making monks, and the ineffectual efforts of the Podestà to curb the violence of party warfare.

A Captain of the People instituted.

During the stress and storm of the fierce conflict carried on by Guelfs and Ghibellines, the Podestà fell into the second rank. He had been created to meet an emergency; but now the discord was too vehement for arbitration. A new functionary appears, with the title of *Captain of the People*. Chosen when one or other of the factions gains supreme power in the burgh, he represents the victorious party, takes the lead in proscribing their opponents, and ratifies on his responsibility the changes introduced into the constitution. The old magistracies and councils, meanwhile, are not abrogated. The *Consiglio del Popolo*, with the Capitano at its head, takes the lead, and a new member, called the *Consiglio della Parte*, is found beside them, watchful to maintain the policy of the victorious faction. But the *Consiglio del Commune*, with the Podestà, who has not ceased to exercise judicial functions, still subsists. The Priors form the Signory, as of old. The *Credenza* goes on working, and the *Gran Consiglio* represents the body of privileged burghers. The victorious party does but tyrannize over the city it has conquered, and

manipulates the ancient constitution for its own advantage. In this clash of Guelf with Ghibelline the beneficiaries were the lower classes of the people. Excluded from the Popolo of episcopal and consular revolutions, the trades and industries of the great cities now assert their claims to be enfranchised. The advent of the *Arti* is the chief social phenomenon of the crisis. Thus the final issue of the conflict was a new Italy, deeply divided by factions that were little understood because they were so vital, because they represented two adverse currents of national energy, incompatible, irreconcilable, eternal in antagonism as the poles. But this discordant nation was more commercial and more democratic. Families of merchants rose upon the ruins of the old nobility. Roman cities of industry reduced their military rivals of earlier or later origin to insignificance. The plain, the river, and the port asserted themselves against the mountain fastness and the barrack burgh. The several classes of society, triturated, shaken together, levelled by warfare and equalized by industry, presented but few obstacles to the emergence of commanding personalities, however humble, from the ranks.

III.

THE RULE OF THE DESPOTS.

IT was under the rule of despots—men of diverse origin, though for the most part displaying great strength of character—that the conditions of the Renaissance were evolved. Under tyrannies, in the midst of intrigues, wars, and revolutions, the peculiar individuality of the Italians obtained its ultimate development. This individuality, as remarkable for salient genius and different talent as for self-conscious and deliberate vice, determined the qualities of the Renaissance, and affected by example the whole of Europe.

The nature and effect of their rule.

If we examine the constitution of these tyrannies, we find abundant proof of their despotic nature. The succession from father to son was always uncertain. Legitimacy of birth was hardly respected. The sons of Popes ranked with the proudest of aristocratic families. Nobility was less regarded in the choice of a ruler than personal ability. Power once acquired was maintained by force, and the history of the ruling families is one catalogue of crime. Yet the cities thus governed were orderly and prosperous. Police regulations were carefully maintained by governors whose interest it was to

rule a quiet state. Culture was widely diffused without regard to rank or wealth. Public edifices of colossal grandeur were multiplied. Meanwhile the people at large were being fashioned to that self-conscious and intelligent activity which is fostered by the modes of life peculiar to political and social centres in a condition of continued rivalry and change.

How it was maintained.

In Italy, where there existed no time-honored hierarchy of classes and no fountain of nobility in the person of a sovereign, one man was a match for another, provided he knew how to assert himself. To the conditions of a society based on these principles we may ascribe the unrivalled emergence of great personalities among the tyrants. In the contest for power and in the maintenance of an illegal authority the picked athletes came to the front. The struggle by which they established their tyranny, the efforts by which they defended it against foreign foes and domestic adversaries, trained them to endurance and daring. They lived habitually in an atmosphere of peril which taxed all their energies. Their activity was extreme, and their passions corresponded to their vehement vitality. When a weakling was born in a despotic family his brothers murdered him, or he was deposed by a watchful rival. Thus only gladiators of tried capacity and iron nerve, superior to religious and moral scruples, dead to natural affection, perfected in perfidy, scientific in the use of cruelty and terror, employing first-rate faculties of brain and bodily powers in the service of transcendent egotism, could survive and hold their own upon this perilous arena.

To record all the instances of crime revenged by crime, of murder following on treachery, a large volume might be compiled containing nothing but the episodes in this grim history of despotism, now tragic and pathetic, now terror-moving in sublimity of passion, now despicable from the baseness of the motives, at one time revolting through excess of physical horrors, at another fascinating by the spectacle of heroic courage, intelligence, and resolution. Isolated, crime-haunted, and remorseless, at the same time fierce and timorous, the despot not unfrequently made of vice a fine art for his amusement, and openly defied humanity. His pleasures tended to extravagance. Inordinate lust and refined cruelty sated his irritable and jaded appetites. He destroyed pity in his soul and spent his brains upon the invention of new tortures. From the game of politics, again, he won a feverish pleasure, playing for states and cities as a man plays chess, endeavoring to extract the utmost excitement from the varying turns of skill and chance. But it would be an exaggeration to assert that all the princes of Italy were of this sort. We shall see that the saner and nobler among them found a more humane enjoyment in the consolidation of their states, the cementing of their alliances, the society of learned men, the friendship of great artists, the building of palaces and churches, the execution of vast schemes of conquest. Some, indeed, we shall find, combined the vices of a barbarian with the enthusiasm of a scholar, while others, again, exhibited every personal virtue with moderation in statecraft and a noble width of culture. But the tendency to degenerate was fatal to all the despotic

The general character of the despots.

houses; the strain of tyranny proved too strong. Crime, illegality, or the sense of peril, descending from father to son, produced monsters in the shape of men. The last Visconti, the last La Scala, the last Sforza, the last Malatesta, the last Farnesi, the last Medici are among the worst specimens of human nature.

The Visconti.

The power of the Visconti in Milan was founded upon that of the Della Torre family, who preceded them as captains of the people at the end of the thirteenth century. Otho, Archbishop of Milan, first laid a substantial basis for the dominion of his house by imprisoning Napoleone Della Torre and five of his relatives in three iron cages, in 1277, and by causing his nephew, Matteo Visconti, to be nominated both by the Emperor and the people of Milan as Imperial Vicar. Matteo, who headed the Ghibelline party in Lombardy, was the model of a prudent Italian despot. From 1311, when he finally succeeded to the sovereignty, to 1322, when he abdicated in favor of his son Galeazzo, he ruled his states by force of character, craft, and insight, more than by violence and cruelty.

Galeazzo, the son, and Azzo, the grandson, of Il Grande.

Galeazzo was less fortunate than Matteo, surnamed *Il Grande* by the Lombards. The Emperor, Louis of Bavaria, threw him into prison on the occasion of his visit to Milan in 1327, and only released him at the intercession of his friend, Castruccio Castracane. He married Beatrice d'Este, the widow of Nino di Gallura, of whom Dante speaks in the eighth canto of the "Purgatory," and had by her a son named Azzo. Azzo consolidated his power by the murder of his uncle Marco, in 1329, and on his decease in 1339 was succeeded by another uncle, Lucchino.

In Lucchino the darker side of the Visconti character appears for the first time. Cruel, moody, and jealous, he passed his life in perpetual terror. His nephews, Galeazzo and Barnabas, conspired against him and were exiled to Flanders. He left sons, but none of proved legitimacy. He was therefore succeeded by his brother Giovanni, Archbishop of Milan. This prince, the friend of Petrarch, was one of the most notable characters of the fourteenth century. His reign marks a new epoch in the despotism of the Visconti. Their dynasty, though based on force and maintained by violence, has come to be acknowledged, and we shall soon see them allying themselves with the royal houses of Europe.

Lucchino and Giovanni, Archbishop of Milan, sons of Il Grande.

After the death of Giovanni, Matteo's sons were extinct. But Stefano, the last of the family, had left three children, Matteo, Bernabo, and Galeazzo. Matteo abandoned himself to bestial sensuality, and his two brothers, finding him both feeble and likely to bring discredit on their rule, caused him to be assassinated in 1355. They then jointly swayed the Milanese with unanimity remarkable in despots.

Bernabo and Galeazzo, grandsons of Il Grande.

Galeazzo was distinguished as the handsomest man of his age. He was tall and graceful, with golden hair, which he wore in long plaits or tied up in a net, or else loose and crowned with flowers. Fond of display and magnificence, he spent most of his vast wealth in shows and festivals, and in the building of palaces and churches. The same taste for splendor led him to seek royal marriages for his

Galeazzo Visconti.

children. His daughter Violante was wedded to the Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III. of England, who received with her for dowry two hundred thousand golden florins and five cities bordering on Piedmont. It must have been a strange experience for this brother of the Black Prince, leaving London, where the streets were still unpaved, the houses thatched, the beds laid on straw, and where wine was sold as a medicine, to pass through the luxurious palaces of Lombardy, walled with marble, and raised high above smooth streets of stone. On this occasion Galeazzo is said to have made splendid presents to more than two hundred Englishmen, so that he was reckoned to have outdone the greatest kings in generosity. With equal display and extravagance he married his son Gian Galeazzo to Isabella, daughter of King John of France.

Galeazzo held his court at Pavia. His brother reigned at Milan. Bernabo displayed all the worst vices of the Visconti in his cold-blooded cruelty. Together with his brother, he devised and caused to be publicly announced by edict that State criminals would be subjected to a series of tortures extending over the space of forty days. In this infernal programme every variety of torment found a place, and days of respite were so calculated as to prolong the lives of the victims for further suffering, till at last there was little left of them that had not been hacked and hewed and flayed away.

Bernabo Visconti.

Galeazzo died in 1378, and was succeeded in his own portion of the Visconti domain by his son Gian Galeazzo. Now began one of those long, slow, internecine struggles which were so common between the members of the ruling

Gian Galeazzo Visconti.

families in Italy. Bernabo and his sons schemed to get possession of the young prince's estate. He, on the other hand, determined to supplant his uncle, and to re-unite the whole Visconti principality beneath his own sway. Craft was the weapon which he chose in this encounter. Shutting himself up in Pavia, he made no disguise of his physical cowardice, which was real, while he simulated a timidity of spirit wholly akin to his temperament. He pretended to be absorbed in religious observances, and gradually induced his uncle and cousins to despise him as a poor creature whom they could make short work of when occasion served. In 1385, having thus prepared the way for treason, he avowed his intention of proceeding on a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Varese. Starting from Pavia with a body-guard of Germans, he passed near Milan, where his uncle and cousins came forth to meet him. Gian Galeazzo feigned a courteous greeting; but, when he saw his relatives within his grasp, he gave a watchword in German to his troops, who surrounded Bernabo and took him prisoner with his sons. Gian Galeazzo marched immediately into Milan, poisoned his uncle in a dungeon, and proclaimed himself sole lord of the Visconti heirship.

The character of Gian Galeazzo.

The reign of Gian Galeazzo, which began with this *coup-de-main* (1385–1402), forms a very important chapter in Italian history. Giovio describes him as having been a remarkably sedate and thoughtful boy, so wise beyond his years that his friends feared he would not grow to man's estate. No pleasures in after-life drew him away from business; hunting, hawking, women, had alike no charms for him. He took moderate exercise for the

preservation of his health, read and meditated much, and relaxed himself in conversation with men of letters. Pure intellect, in fact, had reached to perfect independence in this prince, who was far above the boisterous pleasures and violent activities of the age in which he lived. In the erection of public buildings he was magnificent. The Certosa of Pavia and the Duomo of Milan owed their foundation to his sense of splendor. At the same time he completed the palace of Pavia which his father had begun, and which he made the noblest dwelling-house in Europe. The University of Pavia was raised by him from a state of decadence to one of great prosperity, partly by munificent endowments, and partly by a wise choice of professors. In his military undertakings he displayed a kindred taste for vast engineering projects. He contemplated, and partly carried out, a scheme for turning the Mincio and the Brenta from their channels, and for drying up the lagoons of Venice. In this way he purposed to attack his last great enemy, the Republic of St. Mark, upon her strongest side. Yet, in the midst of these huge designs, he was able to attend to the most trifling details of economy. By applying mercantile machinery to the management of his vast dominions, at a time when public economy was but little understood in Europe, he raised his wealth enormously above that of his neighbors. As his personal timidity prevented him from leading his troops in the field, he found it necessary to employ paid generals, and took into his service all the chief *condottieri* of the day, thus giving an impulse to the custom which led to the corruption of the whole military system of Italy.

Gian Galeazzo's schemes were first directed against the Scala dynasty. Founded, like that of the Visconti, upon the Imperial authority, it rose to its greatest height under the Ghibelline general Can Grande, and his nephew Mastino, in the first half of the fourteenth century (1312–1351). Mastino had himself cherished the project of an Italian kingdom; but he died before approaching its accomplishment. The degeneracy of his house began with his three sons. The two younger killed the eldest; of the survivors, the stronger slew the weaker, and then died in 1374, leaving his domains to two of his bastards. One of these, named Antonio, killed the other in 1381, and afterwards fell a prey to the Visconti in 1387.

His animosity to the Scala family.

Having obtained possession of all the principal cities in Tuscany, and ruined their reigning families, chiefly by the most despicable arts, Gian Galeazzo followed up his success by the annexation of Bologna, Siena, Lucca, and Pisa. All Italy and Germany had now begun to regard the usurpations of the Milanese despot with alarm. There remained no power, except the Republic of Florence and the exiled but invincible Francesco da Carrara of Padua, to withstand his further progress. Florence delayed his conquests in Tuscany. Francesco managed to return to Padua. Still the peril which threatened the whole of Italy was imminent. The Duke of Milan was in the plenitude of manhood —rich, prosperous, and full of mental vigor. His acquisitions were well cemented; his treasury brimful; his generals highly paid. All his lieutenants in city and in camp respected the iron will and the deep policy

His conquest, ending with his death.

of the despot who swayed their action from his arm-chair in Milan. He alone knew how to use the brains and hands that did him service, to keep them mutually in check, and by their regulated action to make himself not one, but a score of men. At last, when all other hope of independence for Italy had failed, the plague broke out with fury in Lombardy. Gian Galeazzo retired to his isolated fortress of Marignano in order to escape infection. Yet there, in 1402, he sickened. A comet appeared in the sky, to which he pointed, as a sign of his approaching death—"God could not but signalize the end of so supreme a ruler," he told his attendants. He died aged fifty-five. Italy drew a deep breath.

The decline of the Visconti power.

The systematic plan conceived by Gian Galeazzo for the enslavement of Italy, the ability which sustained him in its execution, and the power with which he bent men to his will, are scarcely more extraordinary than the sudden dissolution of the dukedom at his death. As long as he lived and held the band of great commanders he had trained in his service in leading-strings, all went well. But at his death his two sons were still mere boys. He had to entrust their persons, together with the conduct of his hardly-won dominions, to these captains in conjunction with the Duchess Catherine and a certain Francesco Barbavara. This man had been the duke's body-servant, and was now the paramour of the duchess. The generals refused to act with them; and each seized upon such portions of the Visconti inheritance as he could most easily acquire. The vast tyranny of the first Duke of Milan fell to pieces in a day. Many scions of the ejected families also recovered

their authority. Meanwhile, Giovanni Maria Visconti was proclaimed Duke of Milan, and his brother Filippo Maria occupied Pavia.

Gian Maria Visconti.

In the despotic families of Italy, as already hinted, there was a progressive tendency to degeneration. The strain of tyranny sustained by force and craft for generations, the abuse of power and pleasure, the isolation and dread in which the despots lived habitually, bred a kind of hereditary madness. This constitutional ferocity of the race appeared as monomania in Giovanni, and an organic timidity amounting to almost imbecility in his brother. Gian Maria distinguished himself chiefly by cruelty and lust. He used the hounds of his ancestors no longer in the chase of boars, but of living men. All the criminals of Milan, and all whom he could get denounced as criminals, even the participators in his own enormities, were given up to his infernal sport. His huntsman, Squarcia Giramo, trained the dogs to their duty by feeding them on human flesh, and the duke watched them tear his victims in pieces with the ecstasy of a lunatic. In 1412 some Milanese noblemen succeeded in murdering him, and threw his mangled corpse into the street.

Filippo Maria Visconti.

Filippo Maria meanwhile had married the widow of Facino Cane, one of the most distinguished of his father's generals, who brought him nearly half a million of florins for dowry, together with her husband's soldiers and the cities, he had seized after Gian Galeazzo's death. He beheaded her six years afterwards on the strength of a false accusation which he had himself instigated; but

by this alliance he gradually recovered the Lombard portion of his father's dukedom. The minor cities purged by murder of their usurpers, once more fell into the grasp of the Milanese despot, after a series of domestic and political tragedies that drenched their streets with blood. Piacenza was utterly depopulated. It is recorded that for the space of a year only three of its inhabitants remained within the walls.

His death opens the way to Francesco Sforza.

This Filippo, the last of the Visconti tyrants, was extremely ugly, and so sensitive about his ill-formed person that he scarcely dared to show himself abroad. He habitually lived in secret chambers, changing them frequently, and, when he issued from his palace, disregarded salutations in the street. As an instance of his nervousness, the chronicles report that he could not endure to hear the noise of thunder. At the same time he inherited much of his father's insight into character, and the power of controlling men more bold and active than himself. But he lacked the keen decision and broad views of Gian Galeazzo. He vacillated in policy, and kept devising plots that had no result but his own disadvantage. Excess of caution made him surround the captains of his troops with spies, and check them at the moment when he feared they might become too powerful. This want of confidence neutralized the advantage which he might have gained by his choice of fitting instruments. Thus his selection of Francesco Sforza for his general against the Venetians in 1431 was a wise one. But he could not attach the great soldier of fortune to himself. Sforza took the pay of Florence against his old patron, and in 1441 forced him to a ruinous peace;

one of the conditions of which was the marriage of his only daughter, Bianca, to the son of the peasant of Cotignola. Bianca was illegitimate, and Filippo Maria had no male heir. The great family of the Visconti had dwindled away. Consequently, after the duke's death in 1447, Sforza found his way open to the Duchy of Milan, which he first secured by force, and then claimed in right of his wife. An adverse claim was set up by the House of Orleans, Louis of Orleans having married Valentina, the legitimate daughter of Gian Galeazzo. But both of these claims were invalid, since the investiture granted by Wenceslaus to the first duke excluded females. So Milan was once again thrown open to the competition of usurpers.

Francesco Sforza obtains the dukedom.

The inextinguishable desire for liberty in Milan blazed forth upon the death of the last duke. In spite of so many generations of despots, the people still regarded themselves as sovereign. But a state which had served the Visconti for nearly two centuries could not in a moment shake off its weakness and rely upon itself alone. Feeling the necessity of mercenary aid, the republic was short-sighted enough to engage Francesco Sforza as commander-in-chief against the Venetians who had availed themselves of the anarchy in Lombardy to push their power west of the Adda. In one brilliant campaign he drove the Venetians back beyond the Adda, burned their fleet at Casal Maggiore on the Po, and utterly defeated their army at Caravaggio. Then he returned as conqueror to Milan, reduced the surrounding cities, blockaded the Milanese in their capital, and forced them to receive him as their duke in 1450.

Sforza got his name from his great physical strength. He was a peasant of the villiage of Cotignola, who, being invited to quit the mattock for a sword, threw his pickaxe into an oak, and cried: "If it stays there it is a sign that I shall make my fortune." The axe stuck in the tree, and Sforza went forth to found a line of dukes. He never obtained the sanction of the Empire to his title. But the great *condottiere*, possessing the substance, did not care for the external show of monarchy. He ruled firmly, wisely, and for those times well, attending to the prosperity of his State, maintaining good discipline in her cities, and losing no ground by foolish and ambitious schemes. Louis XI. of France is said to have professed himself Sforza's pupil in statecraft, than which no greater tribute could be paid to his political sagacity. In 1466 he died, leaving three sons—Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, the Cardinal Ascanio, and Lodovico, surnamed Il Moro.

Francesco Sforza's creditable rule.

"Francesco's crown," says Ripamonti, "was destined to pass to more than six inheritors, and these five successions were accomplished by a series of tragic events in his family. Galeazzo, his son, was murdered because of his abominable crimes, in the presence of his people, before the altar, in the middle of the sacred rites. Giovanni Galeazzo, who followed him, was poisoned by his uncle, Lodovico. Lodovico was imprisoned by the French, and died of grief in a dungeon. One of his sons perished in the same way; and the other, after years of misery and exile, was restored in his childless old age to a throne which had been undermined, and when he died his dynasty was extinct.

The tragic fate of his successors.

This was the recompense for the treason of Francesco to the State of Milan. It was for such successes that he passed his life in perfidy, privation, and danger."

Such was the condition of Italy at the end of the fifteenth century. Neither public nor private morality, in our sense of the word, existed. The crimes of the tyrants against their subjects and the members of their own families had produced a correlative order of crime in the people over whom they tyrannized. Cruelty was met by conspiracy. Tyrannicide became honorable. Murders, poisonings, rapes, and treasons were common incidents of private as of public life. In cities like Naples bloodguilt could be atoned at an inconceivably low rate. The palaces of the nobles swarmed with professional cut-throats, and the great ecclesiastics claimed for their abodes the rights of sanctuary. Popes sold absolution for the most horrible excesses, and granted indulgences beforehand for the commission of crimes of lust and violence. Success was the standard by which acts were judged; and the man who could help his friends, intimidate his enemies, and carve a way to fortune by any means he chose, was regarded as a hero.

The prevalence of crime.

Yet it must not be overlooked that even in such a soil the spirit of the Renaissance had reached maturity, and was putting forth its choicest fruits. We may anticipate what will be noticed again how at this time Filelfo was receiving the pay of Filippo Maria Visconti; that Guarino of Verona was instructing the heir of Ferrara, and Vittorino da Feltre the children of the Marquis of Mantua. We think of Lionardo da Vinci

The growth of the Renaissance unaffected.

delighting Milan with his music and his magic world of painting; of Boiardo singing the prelude to Ariosto's melodies in Ferrara; of Poliziano pouring forth honeyed eloquence at Florence; of Ficino expounding Plato, and Pico della Mirandola dreaming of a reconciliation of the Hebrew, Pagan, and Christian traditions. It is well to note these facts while we record the ferocity and crimes of despots who seemed little likely to appreciate and protect these masters in arts and letters. But this was an age in which even the wildest and most perfidious of tyrants felt the ennobling influences and the sacred thirst of knowledge.

Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta.

Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, the Lord of Rimini, might be selected as a true type of the princes who united a romantic zeal for culture with the vices of barbarians. The coins which bear the portraits of this man, together with the medallions in red Verona marble on his church at Rimini, show a narrow forehead protuberant above bushy eyebrows, a long hooked nose, hollow cheeks, and petulant, passionate, compressed lips. The whole face seems ready to flash with sudden violence, to merge its self-control in a spasm of fury. This Malatesta killed three wives in succession, and committed outrages on his children. So much of him belongs to the mere savage. He caused the magnificent church of S. Francesco at Rimini to be raised by Leo Alberti in a manner more worthy of a pagan pantheon than of a Christian temple. He encrusted it with exquisite bas-reliefs in marble, the triumphs of the earliest Renaissance style, carved his own name and ensigns upon every scroll and frieze and point of vantage in the building, and dedicated a shrine there

to his concubine—*Divæ Isothæ Sacrum.* In the spirit of the Neo-pagan of the fifteenth century, he brought back from Greece the mortal remains of the philosopher Gemistos Plethon, buried them in a sarcophagus outside his church, with this epigraph: "These remains of Gemistus of Byzantium, chief of the sages of his day, Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, son of Pandolfo, commander in the war against the king of the Turks in the Morea, induced by the mighty love with which he burns for men of learning, brought hither and placed within this chest, 1466." He, the most fretful and turbulent of men, read books with patient care, and bore the contradictions of pedants in the course of long discussions on philosophy, arts, and letters. At the same time, as *condottiere*, he displayed all the duplicities, cruelties, sacrileges, and tortuous policies to which the most accomplished villain of the age could have aspired.

Frederick, Duke of Urbino.

It is pleasant to be able to conclude these illustrations of the worst features of Italian despotism with a brief sketch of the character of the good Duke Frederick, Count of Montefeltro, created Duke of Urbino in 1474 by Pope Sixtus IV. His life covers the better part of the fifteenth century (*b.* 1422, *d.* 1482). A little corner of old Umbria lying between the Apennines and the Adriatic, Rimini and Ancona, formed his patrimony. Speaking roughly, the whole duchy was but forty miles square, and the larger portion consisted of bare hillsides and serrated ravines. Yet this poor territory became the centre of a splendid court. The chivalry of Italy flocked to Urbino in order to learn manners and the art of war from the most noble general of his day. The library con-

tained copies of all the Greek and Latin authors then discovered, the principal treatises on theology and Church history, a complete series of Italian poets, historiographers and commentators, various medical, mathematical, and legal works, essays on music, military tactics, and the arts, together with such Hebrew books as were accessible to copyists. Military service formed his trade. As a *condottiere*, Federigo was famous in this age of broken faith for his sincerity and plain dealing. To his soldiers in the field he was considerate and generous; to his enemies compassionate and merciful. But Frederick was not merely an accomplished prince. Concurrent testimony proves that he remained a good husband and a constant friend throughout his life, that he controlled his natural quickness of temper, and subdued the sensual appetites which in that age of lax morality he might have indulged without reproach. In his relations to his subjects he showed what a paternal monarch should be, conversing familiarly with the citizens of Urbino, accosting them with head uncovered, inquiring into the necessities of the poorer artisans, relieving the destitute, dowering orphan girls, and helping distressed shopkeepers with loans.

Frederick wore the Order of the Garter which Henry VII. conferred on him, the Neapolitan order of the Ermine, and the Papal decoration of the Rose, the Hat, and the Sword. He served three pontiffs, two kings of Naples, and two dukes of Milan. The Republic of Florence, and more than one Italian League, appointed him their general in the field. If his military career was less brilliant than that of the two Sforzas, Piccino, or Carmagnuola, he avoided the

crimes to which ambition led some of these men, and the rocks on which they struck. At his death he transmitted a flourishing duchy, a cultivated court, a renowned name, and the leadership of the Italian League to his son Guidobaldo, who died childless, after exhibiting for many years an example of patience in sickness and of dignified cheerfulness under the restraint of enforced inaction. His wife, Elizabetta Gonzaga, one of the most famous women of her age, was no less a pattern of noble conduct and serene contentment.

IV.

THE POPES OF THE RENAISSANCE.

IN the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries, the authority of the Popes, both as heads of the Church and as temporal rulers, had been impaired by exile in France and by ruinous schisms. A new era began with the election of Nicholas V. in 1447, and ended during the pontificate of Clement VII. with the sack of Rome in 1527. Through the whole of this period the Popes acted more as monarchs than as pontiffs, and the secularization of the See of Rome was carried to its utmost limits. The contrast between the sacerdotal pretensions and the personal immorality of the Popes was glaring; nor had the chiefs of the Church yet learned to regard the liberalism of the Renaissance with suspicion.

The prestige of the Papacy conduces to their power.

We find in the Popes of this period what has been already noticed in the despots—learning, the patronage of the arts, the passion for magnificence, and the refinements of polite culture, alternating and not unfrequently combined with barbarous ferocity of temper, and with savage and coarse tastes. On the one side we observe a pagan dissoluteness which would have scandalized the parasites of Commodus and Nero; on the other, a seeming zeal for dogma worthy of S. Dominic.

In the States of the Church the temporal power of the Popes, founded upon false donations, confirmed by tradition, and contested by rival despots, was an anomaly. In Rome itself their situation, though different, was no less peculiar. The government was ostensibly republican. The Pope had no sovereign rights, but only the ascendency inseparable from his wealth and from his position as Primate of Christendom. Italy, however, regarded the Papacy as indispensable to her prosperity, while Rome was proud to be called the metropolis of Christendom and ready to sacrifice the shadow of republican liberty for the material advantages which might accrue from the sovereignty of her bishop. Now was the proper moment, therefore, for the Popes to convert their ill-defined authority into a settled despotism, to secure themselves in Rome as sovereigns, and to subdue the States of the Church to their temporal jurisdiction.

The work was begun by Thomas of Sarzana, who ascended the chair of S. Peter, in 1447, as Nicholas V. Educated at Florence, under the shadow of the house of Medici, he had imbibed those principles of deference to princely authority which were supplanting the old republican virtues throughout Italy. The schisms which had rent the Catholic Church were healed; and, finding no opposition to his spiritual power, he determined to consolidate the temporalities of his See. In this purpose he was confirmed by the conspiracy of Stefano Porcari, a Roman noble who had endeavored to rouse republican enthusiasm in the city at the moment of the Pope's election, and who subsequently plotted against his liberty, if not his life. Porcari and his associates were

Nicholas V.

put to death in 1453, and by this act the Pope proclaimed himself a monarch.

His public works in Rome.

The vast wealth which the Jubilee of 1450 had poured into the Papal coffers he employed in beautifying the city of Rome and in creating a stronghold for the Sovereign Pontiff. The mausoleum of Hadrian, used long before as a fortress in the Middle Ages, was now strengthened; while the bridge of S. Angelo and the Leonine city were so connected and defended by a system of walls and outworks as to give the key of Rome into the hands of the Pope. A new Vatican began to rise, and the foundations of a nobler S. Peter's Church were laid within the circuit of the Papal domain. Nicholas had, in fact, conceived the great idea of restoring the supremacy of Rome, not after the fashion of a Hildebrand, by enforcing the spiritual despotism of the Papacy, but by establishing the Popes as kings, by renewing the architectural magnificence of the Eternal City, and by rendering his court the centre of European culture. In the will which he dictated on his death-bed to the princes of the Church, he set forth all that he had done for the secular and ecclesiastical architecture of Rome, explaining his deep sense of the necessity of securing the Popes from internal revolution and external force, together with his desire to exalt the Church by rendering her chief seat splendid in the eyes of Christendom. This testament of Nicholas remains a memorable document. Nothing illustrates more forcibly the transition from the Middle Ages to the worldliness of the Renaissance than the conviction of the Pontiff that the destinies of Christianity depended on the state and glory of the town of Rome.

Of Alfonzo Borgia, who reigned for three years as Calixtus III., little need be said, except that his pontificate prepared for the greatness of his nephew, Roderigo Lenzuoli, known as Borgia in compliment to his uncle. The last days of Nicholas had been embittered by the fall of Constantinople (1453), and the imminent peril which threatened Europe from the Turks. The whole energies of Pius II. were then directed towards the one end of uniting the European nations against the infidel.

Calixtus III.

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, as an author, an orator, a diplomatist, a traveller, and a courtier, bears a name illustrious in the annals of the Renaissance. As a Pope he claims attention for the single-hearted zeal which he displayed in the vain attempt to rouse the piety of Christendom against the foes of civilization and the faith. Rarely has a greater contrast been displayed between the man and the pontiff than in the case of Pius. The pleasure-loving, astute, free-thinking man of letters and the world had become a Holy Father, jealous for Christian proprieties, and bent on stirring Europe by an appeal to motives which had lost their force three centuries before. Pius himself was not unconscious of the discrepancy between his old and his new self. "*Æneam rejicite, Pium recipite*," he exclaims in a celebrated passage of his "Retractation," where he declares his heartfelt sorrow for the irrevocable words of light and vain romance that he had scattered in his careless youth. Yet, though Pius II. proved a virtual failure by lacking the strength to lead his age either backwards to the ideal of earlier Christianity, or forwards on the path of modern culture, he is the last Pope of the Renaissance period whom we can regard

Pius II.

with real respect. Those who follow, and with whose personal characters rather than their action as pontiffs we shall now be principally occupied, sacrificed the interests of Christendom to family ambition, secured their sovereignty at the price of discord in Italy, transacted with the infidel and played the part of Antichrist upon the theatre of Europe.

Paul II.

Paul II. was a Venetian named Pietro Barbi, who began life as a merchant. He had already shipped his worldly goods on board a trading vessel for a foreign trip, when news reached him that his uncle, of whom we shall see more during his enforced retirement from Rome, had been made Pope under the name of Eugenius IV. His call to the ministry consisted of the calculation that he could make his fortune in the Church with a Pope for uncle sooner than on the high seas by his wits. So he unloaded his bales, took to his book, became a priest, and at the age of forty-eight rose to the Papacy. Being a handsome man, he was fain to take the ecclesiastical title of Formosus; but the cardinals dissuaded him from this parade of vanity, and he assumed the tiara as Paul in 1464. A vulgar love of show was his ruling characteristic. He spent enormous sums upon a collection of jewels, and his tiara alone was valued at 200,000 golden florins. In all public ceremonies, whether ecclesiastical or secular, he was splendid, delighting to sun himself before the eyes of the Romans equally as the chief actor in an Easter benediction or in a carnival procession. The poorer cardinals received subsidies from his purse in order that they might add lustre to his pageants by their retinues. The arts found in him a munificent patron. For the building of the palace of S. Marco,

which marks an abrupt departure from the previous Gothic style in vogue, he brought architects of eminence to Rome, and gave employment to Mino da Fiesole, the sculptor, and to Giuliano da San Gallo, the wood-carver. The arches of Titus and Septimus Severus were restored at his expense, together with the statue of Marcus Aurelius and the horses of Monte Cavallo. This patronage of contemporary art, no less than the appreciation of classical monuments, marked him as a Mæcenas of the true Renaissance type.

His discouragement of learning.

But the qualities of a dilettante were not calculated to shed lustre on a pontiff who spent the substance of the Church in heaping up valuable curiosities, and whose love of hoarding was so extreme that, when bishoprics fell vacant, he often refused to fill them up, drawing their resources for his own use. His court was luxurious, and he was addicted to sensual lust. This would not, however, have brought his name into bad odor in Rome, where the Holy Father was already regarded as an Italian despot with certain sacerdotal additions. It was his prosecution of the Platonists which made him unpopular in an age when men had the right to expect that, whatever happened, learning at least would be respected. The example of the Florentine and Neapolitan academies had encouraged the Romans to found a society for the discussion of philosophical questions. The Pope conceived that a political intrigue was the real object of this club. Nor was the suspicion wholly destitute of color. The conspiracy of Porcari against Nicholas V. was still fresh in people's memories; nor was the position of the Pope

in Rome as yet by any means secure. He seized the chief members of the Roman Academy, imprisoned them, put them to the torture, and killed some of them upon the rack. "You would have taken the Castle of S. Angelo for Phalaris' bull," writes Platina; "the hollow vaults did so resound with the cries of innocent young men." No evidence of a conspiracy could be extorted. Then Paul tried the survivors for unorthodoxy. They proved the soundness of their faith to the satisfaction of the Pope's inquisitors. Nothing remained but to release them, or to shut them up in dungeons in order that people might not say the Holy Father had arrested them without due cause. The latter course was chosen. Platina, the historian of the Popes, was one of the Secretaries of the Briefs, and one of the Platonists whom Paul had tortured.

Sixtus IV.

Paul did not live as long as his comparative youth led people to anticipate. He died of apoplexy in 1471, alone and suddenly, after supping on two huge water-melons. His successor was a man of base extraction, named Francesco della Rovere, born near the town of Savona on the Genoese Riviera. It was his whim to be thought noble; so he bought the goodwill of the ancient house of Rovere of Turin by giving them two cardinals' hats, and proclaimed himself their kinsman. Theirs is the golden oak-tree on an azure ground which Michael Angelo painted on the roof of the Sistine Chapel, in compliment to Sixtus and his nephew Julius. Having bribed the most venal members of the Sacred College, Francesco della Rovere was elected Pope and assumed the name of Sixtus IV.

He began his career with a lie; for though he succeeded to the avaricious Paul, who had spent his time in amassing money which he did not use, he declared that he only found 5,000 florins in the Papal treasury. This assertion was proved false by the prodigality with which he lavished wealth immediately upon his nephews. It is difficult even to hint at the horrible suspicions which were cast upon the birth of two of the Pope's nephews, and upon the nature of his weakness for them; yet the private life of Sixtus rendered the most monstrous stories plausible. We may, however, dwell upon the principal features of his nepotism; for Sixtus was the first Pontiff who deliberately organized a system of pillaging the Church in order to exalt his family to principalities. But Christendom beheld in Sixtus not merely the spectacle of a Pope who trafficked in the bodies of his subjects, and the holy things of his office, to squander ill-gotten gold upon abandoned minions. The peace of Italy was destroyed by desolating wars in the advancement of the most worthless favorites. Sixtus desired to annex Ferrara to the dominions of Girolamo Riario, the son of his sister Jolanda. Nothing stood in his way but the house of Este, firmly planted for centuries, and connected by marriage or alliance with all the chief families of Italy. The Pope, whose lust for blood and broils was only equalled by his avarice and his libertinism, rushed with wild delight into a project which involved the discord of the whole peninsula. He made treaties with Venice and unmade them, stirred up all the passions of the despots and set them together by the ears, called the Swiss mercenaries into Lombardy, and when, finally, tired of fighting for

His public and private infamy.

his nephew, the Italian powers concluded the peace of Bagnolo, he died of rage in 1484. The Pope did actually die of disappointed fury, because peace had been restored to the country he had mangled for the sake of a favorite nephew.

The Pazzi conspiracy against the Medici.

The crime of Sixtus which most vividly paints the corruption of the Papacy in that age remains still to be told. This was the sanction of the Pazzi Conjuration against Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici. In the year 1477, the Medici, after excluding the merchant princes of the Pazzi family from the magistracy of Florence, and otherwise annoying them, had driven Francesco de' Pazzi in disgust to Rome. Sixtus chose him for his banker in the place of the Medicean Company. He became intimate with Girolamo Riario, and was well received at the Papal court. Political reasons at this moment made the Pope and his nephew anxious to destroy the Medici, who opposed Girolamo's schemes of aggrandizement in Lombardy. Private rancor induced Francesco de' Pazzi to second their views, and to stimulate their passion. The three between them hatched a plot which was joined by Salviati, Archbishop of Pisa, another private foe of the Medici, and by Giambattista Montesecco, a captain well affected to the Count Girolamo. The first design of the conspirators was to lure the brothers Medici to Rome and to kill them there. But the young men were too prudent to leave Florence. Pazzi and Salviati then proceeded to Tuscany, hoping either at a banquet or in church to succeed in murdering them. Bernardo Bandini, a man of blood by trade, and Francesco de' Pazzi were chosen to assassinate Giuliano. Giambattista Montesecco

undertook to dispose of Lorenzo. April 26, 1478, was finally fixed for the deed. The place selected was the Duomo. The elevation of the Host at Mass was to be the signal. Both the Medici arrived. The murderers embraced Giuliano, and discovered that this timid youth had left his secret coat of mail at home. But a difficulty, which ought to have been foreseen, arose. Montesecco, cut-throat as he was, refused to stab Lorenzo before the high altar; at the last moment some sense of the *religio loci* dashed his courage. Two priests were then discovered who had no such silly scruples. In the words of an old chronicle: "Another man was found, who, *being a priest*, was more accustomed to the place, and therefore less superstitious about its sanctity." This, however, spoiled all. The priests, though more sacrilegious than the bravos, were less used to the trade of assassination. They failed to strike home. Giuliano, it is true, was stabbed to death by Bernardo Bandini and Francesco de' Pazzi at the very moment of the elevation of Christ's body; but Lorenzo escaped with a slight flesh-wound. The whole conspiracy collapsed. In the retaliation which the infuriated people of Florence took upon the murderers, the Archbishop Salviati, together with Jacopo and Francesco de' Pazzi, and some others among the principal conspirators, were hung from the windows of the Palazzo Publico. For this act of violence to the sacred person of a traitorous priest, Sixtus, who had upon his own conscience the crime of mingled treason, sacrilege, and murder, excommunicated Florence, and carried on for years a savage war with the Republic. It was not until 1481, when the descent of the Turks upon Otranto made him tremble for his own safety, that he chose to make peace

with those whom he had himself provoked and plotted against.

The Inquisition in Spain and expulsion of the Jews.

Another feature in the pontificate of Sixtus deserves special mention. It was under his auspices, in 1478, that the Inquisition was founded in Spain for the extermination of Jews, Moors, and Christians with a taint of heresy. During the next four years 2,000 victims were burned in the province of Castile. In Seville, a plot of ground called the *Quemadero*, or place of burning, was set apart for executions; and here, in one year, 280 heretics were committed to the flames, while 79 were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and 17,000 to lighter punishments of various kinds. In Andalusia alone 5,000 houses were at once abandoned by their inhabitants. Then followed, in 1492, the celebrated edict against the Jews. Before four months had expired, the whole Jewish population were bidden to leave Spain, carrying with them nothing in the shape of gold or silver. Vainly did the persecuted race endeavor to purchase a remission of the sentence by the payment of an exorbitant ransom. Torquemada appeared before Ferdinand and his consort, raising the crucifix, and crying: "Judas sold Christ for thirty pieces of silver; sell ye him for a larger sum, and account for the same to God!" The exodus began. Eight hundred thousand Jews left Spain—some for the coast of Africa, where the Arabs ripped up their bodies in search for gems or gold that they might have swallowed, and deflowered their women—some for Portugal, where they bought the right to exist for a large head-tax, and where they saw their sons and daughters dragged away to baptism. Others were sold as slaves, or had to

satisfy the rapacity of their persecutors with the bodies of their children. Many flung themselves into the wells, and sought to bury despair in suicide. The Mediterranean was covered with famine-stricken and plague-breeding fleets of exiles. Putting into the port of Genoa, they were refused leave to reside in the city, and died by hundreds in the harbor. Their festering bodies bred a pestilence along the whole Italian seaboard, of which, at Naples alone, 20,000 persons died. Flitting from shore to shore, these forlorn spectres, the victims of bigotry and avarice, everywhere pillaged and everywhere rejected, dwindled away and disappeared.

Most singular is the attitude of a Sixtus—indulging his lust and pride in the Vatican, adorning the chapel called after his name with masterpieces, rending Italy with broils for the aggrandizement of favorites, haggling over the prices to be paid for bishoprics, extorting money from starved provinces, plotting murder against his enemies, hounding the semi-barbarous Swiss mountaineers on Milan by indulgences, refusing aid to Venice in her championship against the Turk—yet meanwhile thinking to please God by holocausts of Moors, by myriads of famished Jews, conferring on a faithless and avaricious Ferdinand the title of Catholic, endeavoring to wipe out his sins by the blood of others, to burn his own vices in the *autos dá fé* of Seville, and by the foundation of that diabolical engine, the Inquisition, to secure the fabric his own infamy was undermining.

His religious obliquity.

After Sixtus IV came Innocent VIII. His secular name was Giambattista Cibo. The Sacred College, terrified by the experience of Sixtus into thinking that another Pope so reckless in

Innocent VIII.

his creation of scandalous cardinals might ruin Christendom, laid the most solemn obligations on the Pope elect. Cibo took oaths on every relic, by every saint, to every member of the conclave, that he would maintain a certain order of appointment and a purity of election in the Church. No cardinal under the age of thirty, not more than one of the Pope's own blood, none without the rank of Doctor of Theology or Law, were to be elected, and so forth. But, as soon as the tiara was on his head, he renounced them all as inconsistent with the rights and liberties of S. Peter's chair. Engagements made by the man might always be broken by the Pope.

Of Innocent's pontificate little need be said. He was the first Pope publicly to acknowledge his seven children and to call them sons and daughters. Avarice, venality, sloth, and the ascendency of base favorites made his reign loathsome without the blaze and splendor of the scandals of his fiery predecessor. In corruption he advanced a step even beyond Sixtus, by establishing a bank at Rome for the sale of pardons. Each sin had its price, which might be paid at the convenience of the criminal; 150 ducats of the tax were poured into the Papal coffers; the surplus fell to Franceschetto, the Pope's son. This insignificant princeling, for whom the county of Anguillara was purchased, showed no ability or ambition for aught but getting and spending money. He was small of stature and tame-spirited; yet the destinies of an important house of Europe depended on him—for his father married him to Maddalena, the daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici, in 1487. This led to Giovanni de' Medici receiving a cardinal's hat at the

His character.

age of thirteen, and thus the Medicean interest in Rome was founded. In the course of a few years the Medici gave two Popes to the Holy See, and by their ecclesiastical influence riveted the chains of Florence.

Its evil effect on the country.

The traffic which Innocent and Franceschetto carried on in theft and murder filled the Campagna with brigands and assassins. Travellers, pilgrims, and even ambassadors were stripped and murdered on their way to Rome; and in the city itself more than two hundred people were publicly assassinated with impunity during the last months of the Pope's life. He was gradually dozing off into his last long sleep, and Franceschetto was planning how to carry off his ducats. While the Holy Father still hovered between life and death, a Jewish doctor proposed to reinvigorate him by the transfusion of young blood into his torpid veins. Three boys throbbing with the elixir of early youth were sacrificed in vain. Each boy, says Infessura, received one ducat. He adds, not without grim humor: "Et paulo post mortui sunt; Judæus quidem aufugit, et Papa non servatus est." The epitaph of this poor old Pope reads like a rather clever but blasphemous witticism: "Ego autem in Innocentiâ meâ ingressus sum."

The intrigues at the next Papal election.

Meanwhile the cardinals had not been idle. The tedious leisure of Innocent's long lethargy was employed by them in active simony. Simony, it may be said in passing, gave the great Italian families a direct interest in the election of the richest and most paying candidate. It served the turn of a man like Ascanio Sforza to fatten the golden goose that laid such eggs before he killed it—in other words, to take the bribes of Innocent and

Alexander, while deferring for a future time his own election. All the cardinals, with the exception of Roderigo Borgia, the son of Isabella Borgia, niece of Pope Calixtus III., were the creatures of Sixtus or of Innocent. Having bought their hats with gold, they were now disposed to sell their votes to the highest bidder. The Borgia was the richest, strongest, and most worldly of them all. He ascertained exactly what the price of each suffrage would be, and laid his plans accordingly. The Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, brother of the Duke of Milan, would accept the lucrative post of vice-chancellor. The Cardinal Orsini would be satisfied with the Borgia Palace at Rome and the castles of Monticello and Saviano. The Cardinal Colonna had a mind for the Abbey of Subbiaco with its fortresses. The cardinal of S. Angelo preferred the comfortable bishopric of Porto, with its palace stocked with choice wines. The cardinal of Parma would take Nepi. The cardinal of Genoa was bribable with the church of S. Maria in Via Lata. Less influential members of the conclave sold themselves for gold. The fiery Giuliano della Rovere remained implacable. In the Borgia his vehement temperament perceived a fit antagonist. But Roderigo Borgia, having corrupted the rest of the college, with the exception of five other cardinals, assumed the tiara in 1492 with the ever-memorable title of Alexander VI.

Alexander VI.

In Roderigo Borgia Rome only saw as yet a man accomplished at all points, of handsome person, royal carriage, majestic presence, and affable address. He was a brilliant orator, a passionate lover, a demigod of court pageantry and ecclesiastical parade—qualities which, although they do not

suit our notions of a churchman, imposed upon the taste of the Renaissance. As he rode in triumph towards the Lateran, voices were loud in his praise. There is no reason to suppose that the majority of the Italians regarded the elevation of the Borgia with any concealed sentiments. As a cardinal he had given proof of his ability, but shown no signs of fraud or cruelty. Nor were his morals worse than those of his colleagues. If he was the father of several children, so was Giuliano della Rovere, who was to succeed him as Julius II., and so had been Pope Innocent before him. This mattered but little in an age when the Primate of Christendom had come to be regarded as a secular potentate, less fortunate than other princes, inasmuch as his rule was not hereditary, but more fortunate in so far as he could wield the thunders and dispense the privileges of the Church.

His ambitious policy.

Alexander VI. was a stronger and a firmer man than his immediate predecessors. "He combined," says Guicciardini, "craft with singular sagacity, a sound judgment with extraordinary powers of persuasion; and to all the grave affairs of life he applied ability and pains beyond belief." His first care was to reduce Rome to order. The old factions of Colonna and Orsini, which Sixtus had scotched, but which had raised their heads again during the dotage of Innocent, were destroyed in his pontificate. In this way, as Machiavelli observed, he laid the real basis for the temporal power of the Papacy. All considerations of religion and morality were subordinated by him with strict impartiality to policy; and his policy he restrained to two objects—the advancement of his family and the consolidation of the temporal power. These were nar-

row aims for the ambition of a potentate who, with one stroke of his pen, pretended to confer the new-found world on Spain. Yet they taxed his whole strength and drove him to the perpetration of enormous crimes.

Prince Djem.

Former Popes had preached crusades against the Turk. Alexander frequently invited Bajazet to enter Europe and relieve him of the princes who opposed his intrigues to favor his children. The fraternal feeling which subsisted between the Pope and the Sultan was to some extent dependent on the fate of Prince Djem, a brother of Bajazet and son of the conqueror of Constantinople, who had fled for protection to the Christian powers, and whom the Pope kept prisoner, receiving 40,000 ducats yearly from the Porte for his jail-fee. Innocent VIII. had been the first to snare this lucrative guest in 1489. The Lance of Longinus was sent him as a token of the Sultan's gratitude, and Innocent, who built an altar in S. Peter's for the relique, caused his own tomb to be raised close by. His effigy in bronze, by Pollajuolo, still carries in its hand this blood-gift from the infidel to the High Priest of Christendom. Djem meanwhile remained in Rome, and held his Moslem court side by side with the Pontiff in the Vatican. Despatches are extant in which Alexander and Bajazet exchanged terms of the warmest friendship, the Turk imploring his Greatness—so he addressed the Pope—to put an end to the unlucky Djem, and promising as the price of this assassination a sum of 300,000 ducats and the tunic worn by Christ, presumably the very seamless coat over which the soldiers on Calvary had cast their dice. The money and the relique arrived in Italy, and were intercepted by the partizans of Giuliano della Rovere. Alexander, before

the bargain with the Sultan had been concluded by the murder of Djem, was forced to hand him over to the French king. But the unlucky Turk died in Charles's camp between Rome and Naples. Whatever crimes may be condoned in Alexander, it is difficult to extenuate this traffic with the Turks. By his appeal from the powers of Europe to the Sultan, at a time when the peril to the Western world was still most serious, he stands attainted for high treason against Christendom, of which he professed to be the chief; against civilization, which the Church pretended to protect; against Christ, whose Vicar he presumed to style himself.

Alexander's censorship of the press.

Like Sixtus, Alexander combined this deadness to the spirit and interests of Christianity with zeal for dogma. He never flinched in formal orthodoxy, and the measures which he took for riveting the chains of superstition on the people were calculated with the military firmness of a Napoleon. It was he who established the censure of the press, by which printers were obliged, under pain of excommunication, to submit the books they issued to the control of the archbishops and their delegates. The Brief of June 1, 1501, which contains this order, may be reasonably said to have retarded civilization, at least in Italy and Spain.

His gross immorality.

Carnal sensuality was the besetting vice of this Pope throughout his life. This, together with his almost insane weakness for his children, whereby he became a slave to the terrible Cesare, caused all the crimes that he committed. At the same time, though sensual, he was not gluttonous. Boccaccio, the Ferrarese ambassador, remarks: "The Pope eats only of one dish. It is, therefore, disagreeable to have to dine with him." In this respect he may

be favorably contrasted with the Roman prelates of the age of Leo. His relations to Vannozza Catanei, the titular wife first of Giorgio de Croce and then of Carlo Canale, and to Julia Farnese, surnamed La Bella, the titular wife of Orsino Orsini, were open and acknowledged. These two sultans ruled him during the greater portion of his career, conniving meanwhile at the harem, which, after truly Oriental fashion, he maintained in the Vatican.

His nepotism.

The nepotism of Sixtus was like water to the strong wine of Alexander's paternal ambition. Of his children by Vannozza, he caused the eldest son to be created Duke of Gandia ; the youngest he married to Donna Sancia, a daughter of Alfonso of Aragon, by whom the boy was honored with the dukedom of Squillace. Cesare, the second of the family, was appointed Bishop of Valentia and cardinal. The dukedoms of Nepi and Camerino were given to another son, John, whom he first declared to be his grandson through Cesare. This John may possibly have been Lucrezia's bastard son. The dukedom of Sermoneta, wrenched for a moment from the hands of the Gaetani family, who still own it, was conferred upon Lucrezia's son, Roderigo. Lucrezia, the only daughter of Alexander, by Vannozza, took three husbands in succession, after having been formally betrothed to two Spanish nobles. She was finally married to Alfonso, crown prince of Ferrara, in 1502 ; and whatever may have been her earlier faults, owing to the foul atmosphere in which she had been reared, it is due to truth to record that at Ferrara she won the esteem of a husband who had married her unwillingly, attached the whole state to her by her sweetness of temper, and received the

panegyrics of the two Strozzi, Bembo, Ariosto, Aldo Manuzio, and many other men of note. Like her mother, Vannozza, she gave herself, in the decline of life, to works of charity and mercy.

The murder of the Duke of Gandia.

Alexander was now to receive a wound on the tenderest side of his character. The murder of the Duke of Gandia is related with great circumstantiality and with surprising *sang-froid* by Burchard, the Pope's master of the ceremonies. The duke, with his brother Cesare, then Cardinal Valentino, supped one night at the house of their mother, Vannozza. On their way home the duke joined company with a masked stranger, dismissed his only attendant, and was never seen again alive. His servant was attacked and half murdered. When the news of the duke's disappearance spread abroad, a boatman of the Tiber deposed to having seen the body of a man thrown into the river on the night of the duke's death, June 14, but he had not thought it worth while to report the circumstance, as he had seen "a hundred bodies thrown into the water at the same spot, and no questions asked about them afterwards." The Pope had the Tiber dragged for some hours, while the wits of Rome made epigrams upon this true successor of S. Peter, this new fisher of men. At last the body of the Duke of Gandia was hauled up. Nine wounds—one in the throat, the others in the head, the legs, and the trunk—were found upon the corpse. Whether the real perpetrators of this murder were ever discovered is not known. In the absence of official declarations on the subject, and in the dead silence of judicial authority which followed, the public surmised that Cesare had planned it; whether, as some have sup-

posed, out of a jealousy of his brother, or because he wished to take the first place in the Borgia family, can never be known. The Pontiff in his rage and grief was like a wild beast at bay. He shut himself in a private room, refused food, and howled with so terrible a voice that it was heard in the streets beyond the palace. When he rose up from this agony, remorse seemed to have struck him. He assembled a conclave of the cardinals, wept before them, rent his robes, confessed his sins and instituted a commission for the reform of the abuses he had sanctioned in the Church. But the storm of anguish spent its strength at last. A visit from Vannozza, the mother of his children, wrought a sudden change from fury to reconcilement. What passed between them is not known for certain. Vannozza is supposed, however, to have pointed out, what was indisputably true, that Cesare was more fitted to support the dignity of the family by his abilities than had been the weak and amiable Duke of Gandia. The miserable father rose from the earth, dried his eyes, took food, put from him his remorse, and forgot, together with his grief for Absalom, the reforms which he had promised for the Church.

Cesare Borgia.

Henceforth he devoted himself with sustained energy to building up the fortunes of Cesare, whom he released from all ecclesiastical obligations, and to whose service he seemed bound by some mysterious power. Nor did he even resent the savageness and cruelty which this young hell-cat vented in his presence on the persons of his favorites. At one time Cesare stabbed Perotto, the Pope's minion, with his own hand, when the youth had taken refuge in Alexander's arms; the blood spurted

out upon the priestly mantle, and the young man died there. At another time he employed the same diabolical temper for the delectation of his father. He turned out some prisoners sentenced to death in a courtyard of the palace, arrayed himself in fantastic clothes, and amused the Papal party by shooting the unlucky criminals. They ran round and round the court, crouching and doubling to avoid his arrows. He showed his skill by hitting each where he thought fit. The Pope and Lucrezia looked on applaudingly. Other scenes, not of bloodshed, but of grovelling sensuality, devised for the entertainment of his father and his sister, though described by the dry pen of Burchard, can scarcely be transferred to these pages.

The atrocity of Alexander's conquests.

The vision of an Italian sovereignty which Charles of Anjou, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, and Galeazzo Maria Sforza had successively entertained, now fascinated the imagination of the Borgias. Having resolved to make Cesare a prince, Alexander allied himself to Louis XII. of France, promising to annul his first marriage and to sanction his nuptials with Ann of Brittany, if he would undertake the advancement of his son. The bribe induced Louis to create Cesare Duke of Valence, and to confer on him the hand of Charlotte of Navarre. He also entered Italy, and with his arms enabled Cesare to subdue Romagna. The system adopted by Alexander and his son in their conquests was a simple one. They took the capitals and murdered the princes. Thus Cesare strangled the Varani at Camerino in 1502, and the Vitelli and Orsini at Sinigaglia in the same year. By his means the Marescotti had been massacred wholesale in Bologna;

Pesaro, Rimini, and Forli had been treated in like manner; and after the capture of Faenza in 1501, its lord, Astone Manfredi, with his brother Ottaviano were sent to Rome, where they were exposed to the worst insults, strangled, and their bodies thrown into the Tiber. A system of equal simplicity kept their policy alive in foreign courts. The Bishop of Cette, in France, was poisoned for hinting at a secret of Cesare's (1498); the Cardinal d'Amboise was bribed to maintain the credit of the Borgias with Louis XII.; the offer of a red hat to Briçonnet during the invasion of Charles VIII. saved Alexander from the terrors of a General Council in 1494, as we shall subsequently see.

The promotion of his family his sole consideration.

The historical interest of Alexander's method consists in his deliberate use of all the means in his power to one end—the elevation of his family. His spiritual authority, the wealth of the Church, the honors of the Holy College, the arts of an assassin, the diplomacy of a despot, were all devoted systematically and openly to the purpose in view. Whatever could be done to weaken Italy by foreign invasions and internal discords, so as to render it a prey to his poisonous son, he attempted. When Louis XII. made his infamous alliance with Ferdinand the Catholic for the spoliation of the house of Aragon in Naples, the Pope gladly gave it his sanction. The two monarchs quarrelled over their prey; then Alexander fomented their discord in order that Cesare might have an opportunity of carrying on his operations in Tuscany unchecked. Patriotism in his breast—whether the patriotism of a born Spaniard or the patriotism of an Italian potentate—was as dead as Christianity. To make profit for the house

of Borgia by fraud, sacrilege, and the dismemberment of nations was the Papal policy.

It is a relief to come at last to the end of this catalogue of crime. The two Borgias—so runs the legend—invited themselves to dine with the Cardinal Adriano of Corneto in a vineyard of the Vatican belonging to their host. Thither, by the hands of Alexander's butler, they had previously forwarded some poisoned wine. By mistake, or by contrivance of the cardinal, who may have bribed the trusted agent, they drank the death-cup mingled for their victim. Nearly all contemporary Italian annalists, including Guicciardini, Paolo Giovio, and Sanudo, gave currency to this version of the tragedy, which became the common property of historians, novelists, and moralists. Yet Burchard, who was on the spot, recorded in his diary that both father and son were attacked by a malignant fever; and Giustiniani wrote to his masters in Venice that the Pope's physician ascribed his illness to apoplexy. The season was remarkably unhealthy, and deaths from fever had been frequent. A circular letter to the German princes, written probably by the Cardinal of Gurk, and dated August 31, 1503, distinctly mentioned fever as the cause of the Pope's sudden decease. Machiavelli, again, who conversed with Cesare Borgia about this turning-point in his career, gave no hint of poison, but spoke only of son and father being simultaneously prostrated by disease.

His mysterious death.

Whatever may have been the proximate cause of his sickness, Alexander died, a black and swollen mass, hideous to contemplate. "All Rome," says Guicciardini, "ran with indescribable gladness to view the corpse. Men could

The relief that it caused.

not satiate their eyes with feeding on the carcass of the serpent who, by his unbounded ambition and pestiferous perfidy, by every demonstration of horrible cruelty, monstrous lust, and unheard-of avarice, selling without distinction things sacred and profane, had filled the world with venom." Cesare languished for some days on a sick-bed; but in the end, by the aid of a powerful constitution, he recovered, to find his claws cut and his plans in irretrievable confusion. "The state of the Duke of Valence," says Filippo Nerli, "vanished even as smoke in air, or foam upon the water." Thus overreaching themselves ended this pair of adventurers, the most notable two who ever played their part upon the stage of the great world. The fruit of so many crimes and such persistent effort was reaped by their enemy, Giuliano della Rovere, for whose benefit the nobles of the Roman state and the despots of Romagna had been extirpated.

Julius II.

Of Pius III., who reigned for a few days after Alexander, no account need be taken. Giuliano della Rovere was made Pope in 1503. Whatever opinion may be formed of him, considered as the high-priest of the Christian faith, there can be no doubt that Julius II. was one of the greatest figures of the Renaissance, and that his name, instead of Leo X., should by right be given to the golden age of letters and of arts in Rome. He stamped the century with the impression of a powerful personality. It is to him we owe the most splendid of Michael Angelo's and Raphael's masterpieces. The Basilica of S. Peter's—that materialized idea which remains to symbolize the transition from the Church of the Middle Ages to the modern

semi-secular supremacy of Papal Rome—was his thought. No nepotism, no loathsome sensuality, no flagrant violation of ecclesiastical justice, stains his pontificate. His one purpose was to secure and extend the temporal authority of the Popes; and this he achieved by curbing the ambition of the Venetians, who threatened to absorb Romagna, by reducing Perugia and Bologna to the Papal sway, by annexing Parma and Piacenza, and by entering on the heritage bequeathed to him by Cesare Borgia.

The power of the Church advanced at the expense of the country.

At his death he transmitted to his successors the largest and most solid sovereignty in Italy. But restless, turbid, never happy unless fighting, Julius drowned the peninsula in blood. He has been called a patriot, because from time to time he raised the cry of driving the barbarians from Italy. It must, however, be remembered that it was he, while still Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, who finally moved Charles VIII. from Lyons; it was he who stirred up the League of Cambray against Venice, and who invited the Swiss mercenaries into Lombardy, in each case adding the weight of the Papal authority to the forces which were enslaving his country. Julius, again, has been variously represented as the saviour of the Papacy and as the curse of Italy. He was emphatically both. In those days of national anarchy it was perhaps impossible for Julius to magnify the Church except at the expense of the nation, and to achieve the purpose of his life without inflicting the scourge of foreign war upon his countrymen. The Powers of Europe had outgrown the Papal discipline. Italian questions were being decided in the cabinets of Louis, Maximilian, and Ferdinand. Instead

of controlling the arbiters of Italy, a Pope could only play off one against another.

Leo X.

Leo X. succeeded Julius in 1513, to the great relief of the Romans, wearied with the continual warfare of the *Pontifice terribile*. In the gorgeous pageant of his triumphal procession to the Lateran, the streets were decked with arches, emblems, and inscriptions. This first Pope of the house of Medici enjoyed at Rome the fame of his father, Lorenzo the Magnificent, at Florence. Extolled as an Augustus in his lifetime, he has given his name to what is called the golden age of Italian culture. As a man he was well qualified to represent the neo-pagan freedom of the Renaissance. Saturated with the spirit of his period, he had no sympathy with religious earnestness, no conception of moral elevation, no aim beyond a superficial polish of the understanding and the taste. Good Latinity seemed to him of more importance than true doctrine. At the same time he was extravagantly munificent to men of culture, and hearty in his zeal for the diffusion of liberal knowledge. But what was reasonable in the man was ridiculous in the Pontiff. There remained an irreconcilable incongruity between his profession of the Primacy of Christendom and his easy epicurean philosophy.

His extravagance.

Leo, like all the Medici after the first Cosimo, was a bad financier. His reckless expenditure contributed in no small measure to the corruption of Rome and to the ruin of the Latin Church, while it won the praises of the literary world. His table, which was open to all the poets, singers, scholars, and buffoons of Rome, cost

half the revenues of Romagna and the March. He founded the knightly order of S. Peter to replenish his treasury, and turned the conspiracy of the Cardinal Petrucci against his life to such good account—extorting from the Cardinal Riario 150,000 ducats, and from the Cardinals Soderini and Hadrian the sum of 125,000—that Von Hutten was almost justified in treating the whole of that dark business as a mere financial speculation. The creation of thirty-nine cardinals in 1517 brought him in above 500,000 ducats. Yet, in spite of these expedients for getting gold, the bankers of Rome were half ruined when he died, owing to the large amount he owed them.

His sumptuous mode of life.

When Leo was made Pope he said to Giuliano, Duke of Nemours, "Let us enjoy the Papacy, since God has given it us." It was in this spirit that he administered the Holy See. The key-note which he struck dominated the whole society of Rome. Masques and balls, comedies and carnival processions, filled the streets and palaces of the Eternal City with a mimicry of pagan festivals, while Art went hand in hand with Luxury. The hoarse rhetoric of friars in the Coliseum, and the drone of *pifferari* from the Ara Cœli, mingled with the Latin declamations of the Capitol and the twang of lute-strings in the Vatican. Meanwhile, amid crowds of cardinals in hunting-dress, dances of half-naked girls, and masques of Carnival Bacchantes, moved pilgrims from the north with wide, astonished, woeful eyes—disciples of Luther, in whose soul, as in a scabbard, lay sheathed the sword of the Spirit, ready to flash forth and smite.

A more complete conception may be formed of Leo by comparing him with Julius. Julius disturbed the peace of Italy with a view to establishing the temporal power of the See. Leo returned to the old nepotism of the previous Popes and fomented discord for the sake of the Medici. Julius was violent in temper but observant of his promises. Leo was suave and slippery. He lured Gianpaolo Baglioni to Rome by a safe-conduct, and then had him imprisoned and beheaded in the castle of S. Angelo. Julius delighted in war, and was never happier than when the cannons roared around him at Mirandola. Leo vexed the soul of his master of the ceremonies because he would ride out a-hunting in top-boots. Julius designed S. Peter's and comprehended Michael Angelo. Leo had the wit to patronize the poets, artists, and historians who added lustre to his court, but he brought no new great man of genius to the front. The portraits of the two Popes, both from the hand of Raphael, are exceedingly characteristic. Julius, bent and emaciated, has the nervous glance of a passionate and energetic temperament. Leo, heavy-jawed, dull-eyed, with thick lips and a brawny jowl, betrays the coarser fibre of a sensualist.

Contrasted with Julius II.

It has often been remarked that both Julius and Leo raised money by the sale of indulgences with a view to the building of S. Peter's, thus aggravating one of the chief scandals which provoked the Reformation. In that age of maladjusted impulses the desire to execute a great work of art, combined with the cynical resolve to turn the superstitions of the people to account, forced rebellion to a head. Leo was unconscious

Without prescience of the Reformation.

of the magnitude of Luther's movement. If he thought at all seriously of the phenomenon, it stirred his wonder. Nor did he feel the necessity of reformation in the Church of Italy. The rich and many-sided life of Rome, and the diplomatic interest of Italian despotism, absorbed his whole attention. It was but a small matter what barbarians thought and did.

The difficulty of choosing a successor.

The sudden death of Leo threw the Holy College into great perplexity. To choose the new Pope without reference to political interests was impossible; and these were divided between Charles V. the Emperor and Francis I. of France. After twelve days spent by the cardinals in conclave, the result of their innumerable schemes and counter-schemes was the election of the Cardinal of Tortosa. No one knew him; and his elevation to the Papacy, due to the influence of Charles, was almost as great a surprise to the electors as to the Romans. In their rage and horror at having chosen this barbarian, the College began to talk about the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, seeking the most improbable of all excuses for the mistake to which intrigue had driven them.

Adrian VI.

Adrian VI. came to Rome for the first time as Pope. He knew no Italian, and talked Latin with an accent unfamiliar to southern ears. His studies had been confined to scholastic philosophy and theology. With courts he had no commerce; and he was so ignorant of the state a Pope should keep in Rome that he wrote beforehand requesting that a modest house and garden might be hired for his abode. When he saw the Vatican, he exclaimed that here the successors, not of Peter, but of Constantine should dwell. Leo kept one hundred grooms for

the service of his stable; Adrian retained but four. Two Flemish valets sufficed for his personal attendance, and to these he gave each evening one ducat for the expenses of the next day's living. A Flemish serving-woman cooked his food, made his bed, and washed his linen. Rome, with its splendid immorality, its classic art and pagan culture, made the same impression on him that it made on Luther. When his courtiers pointed to the Laocoon as the most illustrious monument of ancient sculpture, he turned away with horror, murmuring: "Idols of the pagans!" The Belvedere, which was fast becoming the first statue-gallery in Europe, he walled up and never entered. At the same time he set himself with earnest purpose, so far as his tied hands and limited ability would go, to reform the more patent abuses of the Church. Leo had raised about three million ducats by the sale of offices; by a stroke of his pen Adrian cancelled these contracts, and threw upon the world a crowd of angry and defrauded officials. It was but poor justice to remind them that their bargain with his predecessor had been illegal. Such attempts, however, at a reformation of ecclesiastical society were as ineffectual as pin-pricks in the cure of a fever which demands bloodletting. The real corruption of Rome, deeply seated in high places remained untouched. Luther meanwhile had carried all before him in the north, and accurate observers in Rome itself dreaded some awful catastrophe for the guilty city.

Clement VII.

Great was the rejoicing when another Medici was made Pope in 1523. People hoped that the merry days of Leo would return. But things had gone too far forward towards dissolution.

Clement VII. failed to give satisfaction to the courtiers whom his more genial cousin had delighted: even the scholars and the poets grumbled. His rule was weak and vacillating, so that the Colonna faction raised its head again and drove him to the castle of S. Angelo. The political horizon of Italy grew darker and more sullen daily, as before some dreadful storm. At last the crash came. Clement, by a series of treaties, treacheries, and tergiversations, had deprived himself of every friend and exasperated every foe. Italy was so worn out with warfare, so accustomed to the anarchy of aimless revolution and to the trampling to and fro of stranger squadrons on her soil, that the news of a Lutheran troop, levied with the express object of pillaging Rome, and reinforced with Spanish ruffians and the scum of every nation, scarcely roused his apathy. The so-called army of Frundsberg—a horde of robbers held together by the hope of plunder—marched without difficulty to the gates of Rome. So low had the honor of Italian princes fallen that the Duke of Ferrara, by direct aid given, and the Duke of Urbino, by counter-force withheld, opened the passes of the Po and of the Apennines to these marauders. They lost their general in Lombardy. The Constable Bourbon, who succeeded him, died in the assault of the city. The troops and inhabitants of Rome showed the utmost pusillanimity. Thus the city for nine months was abandoned to the lust, rapacity, and cruelty of some 30,000 brigands without a leader. It was then shown to what lengths of insult, violence, and bestiality the brutal barbarism of Germans and the avarice of Spaniards could be carried. Clement, beleaguered in the castle of S. Angelo, saw, day and night, the smoke

ascend from desolated palaces and desecrated temples, heard the wailing of women and the groans of tortured men mingle with the jests of Lutheran drunkards and the curses of Castilian bandits. Roaming its galleries, and looking with hopeless eyes upon so much misery and shame, he was wont to exclaim with Job: "Wherefore hast thou brought me forth from the womb? Oh, that I had given up the ghost, and no eye had seen me." What the Romans, emasculated by luxury and priest rule—what the cardinals and prelates, lapped in sensuality and sloth—were made to suffer during this long agony can scarcely be described. When at last the barbarians, sated with blood, surfeited with lechery, glutted with gold, and decimated with pestilence, withdrew, Rome raised her head a widow. From the shame and torment of that sack she never recovered—never again became the gay, licentious capital of arts and letters—the glittering, extravagant Rome of Leo X.

VI.

THE RAID OF CHARLES VIII.

THE first sign of the alteration about to take place in European history was the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. This holiday excursion by a hare-brained youth was as transient as a border foray on a large scale. The so-called conquest was only less sudden than the subsequent loss of Italy by the French. Yet the tornado which swept the peninsula from north to south, and returned upon its path from south to north within the space of a few months, left ineffaceable traces on the country which it traversed, and changed the whole complexion of the politics of Europe.

The accession of Charles VIII.

The invasion of Italy had been long prepared in the counsels of Louis XI. After spending his lifetime in the consolidation of the French monarchy, he constructed an inheritance of further empire for his successors by dictating to the old King René of Anjou (1474) and to the Count of Maine (1481) the two wills by which the pretensions of the House of Anjou to the Crown of Naples were transmitted to the royal family of France. On the death of Louis, Charles VIII. became king in 1483. He was then aged only thirteen, and was still governed by his elder sister, Anne de Beaujeu. It was not until

1492 that he actually took the reins of the kingdom into his own hands. This year, we may remark, is one of the most memorable dates in history. In 1492 Columbus discovered America: in 1492 Roderigo Borgia was made Pope: in 1492 Spain became a nation by the conquest of Granada. Each of these events was no less fruitful of consequences to Italy than was the accession of Charles VIII.

His character.

Both Philip de Comines and Guicciardini have described the appearance and the character of the prince who was destined to play a part so prominent, so pregnant of results, and yet so trivial, in the affairs of Europe. "From infancy he had been weak in constitution and subject to illnesses. His stature was short and his face very ugly, if you except the dignity and vigor of his glance. His limbs were so disproportioned that he had less the appearance of a man than of a monster. Not only was he ignorant of liberal arts, but he hardly knew his letters. Though eager to rule, he was in truth made for anything but that; for while surrounded by dependents he exercised no authority over them, and preserved no kind of majesty. Hating business and fatigue, he displayed in such matters as he took in hand a want of prudence and of judgment. His desire for glory sprang rather from impulse than from reason. His liberality was inconsiderate, immoderate, promiscuous. When he displayed inflexibility of purpose, it was more often an ill-founded obstinacy than firmness; and that which many people called his goodness of nature rather deserved the name of coldness and feebleness of spirit." This is Guicciardini's portrait. De Comines is more brief: "The king was young, a fledgling from the nest;

provided neither with money nor with good sense; weak, wilful, and surrounded by foolish counsellors."

Prepares to invade Italy.

The splendor and novelty of the proposal to conquer such a realm as Italy inflamed the imagination of Charles and the cupidity of his courtiers. In order to assure his situation at home, Charles concluded treaties with the neighboring great powers. He bought peace with Henry VII. of England by the payment of large sums of money. The Emperor Maximilian, whose resentment he had aroused by sending back his daughter Margaret after breaking his promise to marry her, and by taking to wife Anne of Brittany, who was already engaged to the Austrian, had to be appeased by the cession of provinces. Ferdinand of Spain received, as the price of his neutrality, the strong places of the Pyrenees which formed the key to France on that side. After concentrating stores at the southern ports of Marseilles and Genoa, Charles moved downward with his army to Lyons in 1494.

The views in which this was held.

There were various instances of private cupidity and spite on the part of the princes to which this impending calamity to Italy may be traced: Lodovico Sforza's determination to secure himself in the usurped Duchy of Milan; the concealed hatred of his father-in-law, Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, who hoped to secure his own advantage in the general confusion; and Alexander VI.'s unholy eagerness to aggrandize his bastards. On the part of the people the invasion of the French was regarded with that sort of fascination which a very new and exciting event is wont to inspire. In one mood the Italians were inclined to hail Charles

as a general pacificator and restorer of old liberties. Savonarola had preached of him as the *flagellum Dei*, the minister appointed to regenerate the Church, and to purify the fount of spiritual life in the peninsula. In another frame of mind they shuddered to think what the advent of the barbarians—so the French were called—might bring upon them. It was universally agreed that Lodovico by his invitation had done no more than bring down, as it were, by a breath the avalanche which had been long impending.

Charles's advance into Lombardy.

While Alfonso of Naples, against whom the invasion was specially directed, was doing what he could to get Florence, Rome, Bologna, and all the minor powers of Romagna to assist him, Charles VIII. remained at Lyons, still uncertain whether he should enter Italy by sea or land, or, indeed, whether he should enter it at all. Having advanced as far as the Rhone valley, he felt satisfied with his achievement, and indulged himself in a long bout of tournaments and pastimes. Besides, the want of money, which was to be his chief embarrassment throughout the expedition, had already made itself felt. It was an Italian who at length roused him to make good his purpose against Italy—Giuliano della Rovere, the haughty nephew of Sixtus, the implacable foe of Alexander, whom he was destined, as we have seen, to succeed upon the papal throne. Burning to punish the Marrano, or apostate Moor, as he called Alexander, Giuliano stirred the king with taunts and menaces until Charles felt that he could delay no longer. When once the French army got under way it moved rapidly. Leaving Vienne on August 23, 1494, 3,600 men-at-arms, the flower of the

French chivalry, 6,000 Breton archers, 6,000 cross-bowmen, 8,000 Gascon infantry, 8,000 Swiss and German lances, crossed the Mont Genevre, debouched on Susa, passed through Turin, and entered Asti on September 19. Neither Piedmont nor Montferrat stirred to resist them. The princes, whose interest it might have been to throw obstacles in the way of Charles, were but children.

The appeals made to his heart.

At Asti Charles was met by Lodovico Sforza and his father-in-law, Ercole d'Este, with the whole court of Milan. It was the policy of the Italian princes to entrap their conqueror with courtesies, and to entangle in silken meshes the barbarian they dreaded. What had happened already at Lyons, what was going to repeat itself at Naples, took place at Asti. The French king lost his heart to ladies, and confused his policy by promises made to Delilahs in the ball-room. But he shortly moved on to Pavia, and here he had to endure the pathetic spectacle of his forlorn cousin, the young Gian Galeazzo Sforza, in prison, and of the beautiful Isabella of Aragon pleading for him. Nursed in chivalrous traditions, incapable of resisting a woman's tears, what was Charles to do when this princess in distress—the wife of his first cousin and the sister of the man he had come to ruin, Alfonso of Naples—was at his feet beseeching him for mercy on her husband, on her brother, and on herself? The situation was indeed enough to move a stouter heart than that of the feeble young king. For the moment he returned evasive answers; and he had no sooner set forth on his way to Piacenza than Il Moro determined that there should be no further room for vacillation by having his nephew poisoned.

Advances to Pisa.

The French force pushed on to Parma, and in the beginning of November appeared before the walls of Sarzana. There had been no opposition from Piero de' Medici, who had undertaken to defend the passes of the Apennines. This false and weak-hearted tyrant, on the contrary, rode with all speed into the French camp, and delivered up to Charles the keys not only of Sarzana but of Leghorn and Pisa, and so opening up the way along a narrow belt of land hemmed in by the sea and the highest mountain-range in Italy, which might easily have been defended. The Florentines, whom Piero had hitherto engaged in an unpopular policy, now rose in fury, expelled him from the city, sacked his palace, and erased from their memory the name of Medici except for execration. He saved his life by flying first to Bologna and thence to Venice, where he remained in a sort of polite captivity.

Florence and Pisa recover their liberties.

On November 9, Florence, after a tyranny of fifty years, and Pisa, after the servitude of a century, recovered their liberties and were able to reconstitute republican governments. But the situation of the two states was very different. The Florentines had never lost the name of liberty, which in Italy at that period meant less the freedom of the inhabitants to exercise self-government than the independence of the city in relation to its neighbors. The Pisans, on the other hand, had been reduced to subjection by the Florentines, their civil life had been stifled, their pride wounded, and their population decimated by proscription and exile. The great sin of Florence was the enslavement of Pisa; and Pisa, in this moment of anarchy, burned to obliterate her shame.

After the flight of Piero and the proclamation of Pisan liberty, the King of France was hailed as a saviour of the free Italian towns. **He enters Florence.** Charles received a magnificent address from Savonarola, who proceeded to Pisa and harangued him as the chosen vessel of the Lord and the deliverer of the Church from anarchy. At the same time the friar conveyed to the French king a courteous invitation from the Florentine republic to enter their city and enjoy their hospitality. Charles, after upsetting Piero de' Medici with the nonchalance of a horseman in the tilting-yard and restoring the freedom of Pisa for a caprice, remained as devoid of policy and as indifferent to the part assigned him by the prophet as he was before. He rode, armed at all points, into Florence on November 17, and took up his residence in the palace of the Medici. Then he informed the elders of the city that he had come as conqueror and not as guest, and that he intended to reserve to himself the disposition of the state.

It was a dramatic moment. Florence with the Arno flowing through her midst, and the hills encircling her gray with olive-trees, was then even more lovely than we see her now. **Florence at that time.** The whole circuit of her walls, with its towers, was then unimpaired. Brunelleschi's dome and Giotto's tower, Arnolfo's Palazzo and the Loggia of Orcagna, gave distinction to her streets and squares. Her churches were splendid with frescoes in their bloom and with painted glass, over which as yet the injury of but a few brief years had passed. Her palaces, that are as strong as castles, overflowed with a population cultivated, polished, refined, and haughty. This Florence, the city of scholars, artists, intellectual sybarites, and

citizens in whom the blood of the old factions beat, found herself suddenly possessed as a prey of war by flaunting Gauls in their outlandish finery, plumed Germans, kilted Kelts, and parti-colored Swiss.

He accepts a ransom to quit Florence.

Charles here, as elsewhere, showed his imbecility. He had entered and laid hands on hospitable Florence like a foe. What would he now do with her?—reform the republic—legislate—impose a levy on the citizens, and lead them forth to battle? No. He asked for a large sum of money, and began to bargain. The Florentine secretaries refused his terms. He insisted. Then Piero Capponi snatched the paper on which they were written, and tore it in pieces before his eyes. Charles cried: "I shall sound my trumpets." Capponi answered, "We will ring our bells." Beautiful as a dream is Florence; but her sombre streets, overshadowed by gigantic belfries and grim palace-fronts, contained a menace that the French king could not face. Let Capponi sound the tocsin, and each house would become a fortress, the streets would be barricaded with iron chains, every quarter would pour forth men by hundreds, well versed in the arts of civic warfare. Charles gave way, covering with a bad joke the discomfiture he felt: "*Ah! Ciappon, Ciappon, voi siete un mal Ciappon!*" All he cared for was to get money. He agreed to content himself with 120,000 florins. A treaty was signed, and in two days he quitted Florence.

His way open to Rome, which he enters.

Rome now lay before him, magnificent in desolation: not the Rome which the Farnesi and Chigi and Barberini have built up from the quarried ruins of amphitheatres and baths, but the Rome of the Middle Ages, the city

crowned with relics of a pagan past, herself still pagan, and holding in her midst the modern Antichrist. The progress of the French was a continued triumph. They reached Siena on December 2. The Duke of Urbino and the Lords of Pesaro and Bologna laid down their arms at their approach. The Orsini opened their castles; Virginio, the captain-general of the Aragonese army, and grand constable of the kingdom of Naples, hastened to win for himself favorable terms from the French sovereign. The Baglioni betook themselves to their own rancors in Perugia. The Duke of Calabria retreated. Italy seemed bent on proving that cowardice, selfishness, and incapacity had conquered her. Viterbo was gained; the Ciminian heights were traversed; the Campagna, bounded by the Alban and the Sabine hills, with Rome a bluish cloud upon the lowlands of the Tiber, spread its solemn breadth of beauty at the invader's feet. Not a blow had been struck when he reached the Porta del Popolo upon December 31, 1494. It was nine at night before the last soldiers, under the flaring light of torches and flambeaux, defiled through the gate and took up their quarters in the streets of the Eternal City. The gigantic barbarians of the cantons, flaunting with plumes and emblazoned surcoats; the chivalry of France, splendid with silk mantles and gilded corselets; the Scotch guard in their wild costume of kilt and philibeg; the scythe-like halberts of the German landsknechts; the tangled elf-locks of stern-featured Bretons, stamped an ineffaceable impression on the people of the South. On this memorable occasion, as in a show upon some holiday, marched past before them specimens and vanguards of all those legioned races which, thirty-two years later, as

we have related, when Clement VII. was Pope, were rioting in every street and dwelling-place. Nothing was wanting to complete the symbol of the coming doom but representatives of the coarse, black, wiry infantry of Spain.

His terms to quit Rome.

The Borgia meanwhile crouched within the castle of S. Angelo. How would the conqueror, the *flagellum Dei*, deal with the abomination of desolation seated in the holy place of Christendom? At the side of Charles were the Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Giuliano della Rovere, urging him to summon a council and depose the Pope. But still closer to his ear was Briçonnet, the *ci-devant* tradesman, now Bishop of S. Malo, who thought it would become his dignity to wear a cardinal's hat. On this trifle turned the destinies of Rome, the doom of Alexander, the fate of the Church. Charles demanded a few fortresses, a red hat for Briçonnet, Cesare Borgia as a hostage for four months, and Djem, the brother of the Sultan. After these agreements had been made and ratified, Alexander ventured to leave his retreat, and receive the homage of the faithful. Charles stayed a month in Rome, and then set out for Naples.

Alfonso, the Magnanimous, of Naples.

The dynasty in Naples which Charles now hoped to dispossess was Spanish. After the death of Joanna II. in 1435, Alfonso, King of Aragon and Sicily, who had no claim to the crown beyond what he derived through a bastard branch of the old Norman dynasty, conquered Naples, expelled Count René of Anjou, and established himself in this new kingdom, which he preferred to those he had inherited by right. Alfonso, surnamed the Magnanimous, was one of the most brilliant and romantic person-

ages of the fifteenth century. Historians are never weary of relating his victories over Caldora and Francesco Sforza, the *coup-de-main* by which he expelled his rival, René, and the fascination he exercised in Milan, while a captive, over the jealous spirit of Filippo Maria Visconti. Scholars are no less profuse in their praises of his virtues, his justice, humanity, generosity, and culture, which rendered him pre-eminent among the princes of that period. The many splendid qualities by which he was distinguished were enhanced rather than obscured by the romance of his private life. Married to Margaret of Castile, he had no legitimate children: Ferdinand, with whom he shared the government of Naples in 1443, and whom he designated as his successor in 1458, was supposed to be his son by Margaret de Hijar, though Pontano, who was Ferdinand's secretary, affirmed that the real father of the Duke of Calabria was a Marrano of Calabria. The queen, however, caused her supposed rival to be murdered.

His son, Ferdinand.

It would indeed be almost incredible that such a father could have been the parent of such a son. In Ferdinand the instinct of liberal culture degenerated into vulgar magnificence; courtesy and confidence gave place to cold suspicion and brutal cruelty. His ferocity bordered on madness. He used to keep the victims of his hatred in cages, where their misery afforded him the same delight as some men derive from watching the antics of monkeys. In his hunting establishment were repeated the worst atrocities of Bernabo Visconti; wretches mutilated for neglect of his hounds extended their handless stumps for charity to the travellers through his villages. Alfonso, the Magnanimous, had been remarkable for

his generosity and sincerity. Ferdinand was a demon for dissimulation, treachery, and avarice.

Alfonso II. was a son worthy of such a terrible father. The only difference between them was that Ferdinand dissembled, while Alfonso, whose bravery at Otranto against the Turks had surrounded him with military glory, abandoned himself with cynicism to his passions. Yet, bold general in the field, and able man of affairs as he might be, he found no courage to resist the approaching conqueror. It is no fiction of a poet or a moralist, but plain matter of history, that this King of Naples, grandson of the great Alfonso, and father of the Ferdinand to be, quailed before the myriads of accusing dead that rose to haunt his tortured fancy in this hour of peril. The people, too, around his gates were muttering in rebellion. The dastard abdicated in favor of his son, took ship for Sicily, and died there conscience-stricken in a monastery before the year was out.

Alfonso II.

For Ferdinand, though a brave youth, beloved by the nation in spite of his grandfather's and father's tyranny, the situation was untenable. Everywhere he was beset by traitors. Without soldiers, without allies, with nothing to rely upon but the untried goodwill of subjects who had just reason to execrate his race, and with the conqueror of Italy advancing with strides through his states, retreat alone was left him. After abandoning his castles to pillage, burning the ships in the harbor, and setting Don Federigo, together with the Queen dowager and the Princess Joanna, upon a quick-sailing galley, Ferdinand bade farewell to his kingdom. Between the beach of Naples and the rocky shore of Ischia, for which the

Ferdinand II.

exiles were bound, there is only the distance of some seventeen miles. It was in February, a month of mild and melancholy sunshine in those southern regions, when the whole bay of Naples with its belt of distant hills is wont to take one tint of modulated azure, that the royal fugitives performed this voyage. As the shore receded from his view, historians relate that the unhappy Ferdinand, in a voice as sad as Boabdil's when he sat down to weep for Granada, exclaimed from the 127th Psalm: "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

Charles enters Naples.

Charles entered Naples as a conqueror or liberator on February 22, 1495. He was welcomed and fêted by the Neapolitans, than whom no people are more childishly delighted with a change of masters. He enjoyed his usual sports, and indulged in his usual love affairs. With suicidal insolence and want of policy he alienated the sympathies of the noble families by dividing the titles, offices, and fiefs of the kingdom among his retinue. Without receiving so much as a provisional investiture from the Pope, he satisfied his vanity by parading, on May 12, as sovereign, with a ball in one hand and a sceptre in the other, through the city.

The storm rises in his rear.

While Charles was amusing himself in Naples, a storm was gathering in his rear. A league against him had been formed in April by the great powers of Europe. Venice, alarmed for the independence of Italy, and urged by the Sultan, headed the league. Lodovico, now that he had attained his selfish object in the quiet possession of Milan, was anxious for his safety. Maximilian, who could not forget the slight put upon him in the matter of his daughter and

his bride, was willing to co-operate against his rival. Ferdinand and Isabella, having secured themselves in Roussillon, thought it behooved them to re-establish Spaniards of their kith and kin in Naples.

His retreat and return to Asti.

The danger was imminent. Already Ferdinand the Catholic had disembarked troops on the shore of Sicily, and was ready to throw an army into the ports of Reggio and Tropea; Alexander had refused to carry out his treaty by the surrender of Spoleto; Cesare Borgia had escaped from the French camp. The Lombards were menacing Asti, which the Duke of Orleans held, and without its possession there was no safe retreat towards France. His troops decimated by disease and worn out by debauchery, Charles saw the necessity of retracing his steps in haste, passed Rome, and reached Siena on June 13. The forces of the league had already taken the field. The key of the pass through the Apennines by which Charles sought to regain Lombardy is the town of Pontremoli. Leaving that in ashes on June 29, the French army, distressed for provisions and in peril amongst the hills, pushed onward with all speed. They knew that the allied forces, commanded by the Marquis of Mantua, were waiting for them at the other side upon the Taro, near the village of Fornovo. Here, if anywhere, the French ought to have been crushed. They numbered about 9,000 men in all, while the troops of the league were close upon 40,000. The French were weary with long marches, insufficient food, and bad quarters. The Italians were fresh and well cared for. Yet in spite of all this, in spite of blind generalship and total blundering, Charles continued to play his part of Fortune's favorite to the end. A bloody battle,

which lasted for an hour, took place upon the banks of the Taro. The Italians suffered so severely that, though they still far outnumbered the French, no persuasion could make them rally and renew the fight. Charles in his own person ran great risks during this engagement, and, when it was over, he had to retreat upon Asti in the teeth of other forces. But the good luck of the French and the dilatory cowardice of their opponents again saved them for the last time. Charles, at the head of the remnant of his invading army, marched into Asti on July 15, and was practically safe.

He takes his dilatory way back to France.

At Asti the young king continued to give signal proofs of his weakness. He made no effort to relieve the Duke of Orleans, who was hard pressed in Novara, or to use the 20,000 Switzers who had descended from their Alps to aid him in the struggle with the league. At Turin, to which he now pushed on, he spent his time in flirting with Anna Soleri, the daughter of his host. This girl had been sent to harangue him with a set oration, and had fulfilled her task, in the words of an old witness, "without wavering, coughing, spitting, or giving way at all." Her charms delayed the king in Italy until October 19, when he signed a treaty at Vercelli with the Duke of Milan. He now only cared for a quick return to France. Reserving to himself the nominal right of using Genoa as a naval station, he made over the town to Lodovico Sforza, and confirmed him in the tranquil possession of his duchy. On October 22 Charles left Turin, and entered his own dominions through the Alps of Dauphiné. Already his famous conquest of Italy was reckoned among the wonders of the past, and his sovereignty over Naples had become the shadow of a name.

The effect of his raid upon Italy.

In spite of its transitory character, the invasion of Charles VIII. was a great fact in the history of the Renaissance. It was the revelation of Italy to the nations of the North. Like a gale sweeping across a forest of trees in blossom, and bearing their fertilizing pollen to far-distant trees, the storm of Charles's army carried far and wide through Europe the productive energy of the Renaissance. For Italy the French invasion opened indeed a new era, but only in the sense that a pageant may form the prelude to a tragedy. Every monarch of Europe, dazzled by the splendid display of Charles, and forgetful of its insignificant results, began to look with greedy eyes upon the wealth of the peninsula. In the course of a few years, as we have seen, the Swiss found in those rich provinces an inexhaustible field for depredation. The Germans, under the pretence of religious zeal, gave a loose rein to their animal appetites in the metropolis of Christendom. France and Spain engaged in a duel to the death for the possession of so fair a prey. Louis XII., who succeeded Charles, lost himself in petty intrigues, by which he finally weakened his own cause to the profit of the Borgias and Austria. Francis I. foamed his force away like a spent wave at Marignano and Pavia. The real conqueror of Italy was Charles V. Italy in the sixteenth century was destined to receive the impress of the Spanish spirit, and to bear the yoke of Austrian dukes. Whether the Renaissance of the modern world would not have been yet more brilliant if Italy had remained free, who shall say? The very conditions which produced her culture seem to have rendered that impossible.

VII.

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

AS an introduction to the history of the Revival, and in order that the work to be performed by the Italian students may be accurately measured, it will be necessary to touch briefly upon the state of scholarship during the dark ages. To underrate the achievement of that period, especially in logic, theology, and law, is only too easy, seeing that a new direction was given to the mind of Europe by the Renaissance, and that we have moved continuously on other lines to other objects since the opening of the fifteenth century. Mediæval thought was both acute and strenuous in its own region of activity. What it lacked was material outside the speculative sphere to feed upon. Culture, in our sense of the word, did not exist, and the intellect was forced to deal subtly with a very limited class of conceptions.

The view of culture before the Renaissance.

Long before the fall of the Roman Empire it became clear that both fine arts and literature were gradually declining. The Church, while battling with paganism, recognized her deadliest foe in literature. Not only were the Greek and Latin masterpieces the strongholds of a mythology that had to be erased from the popular mind; not only was their morality antagonistic to the principles of Christian ethics; in addition to these grounds for

hatred and mistrust, the classics idealized a form of human life which the new faith regarded as worthless. What was the use of making this life refined and agreeable by study, when it formed but an insignificant prelude to an eternity wherein worldly learning would be valueless?

Italy was not in advance of other countries in this.

During the dark ages Italy had in no sense enjoyed superiority of culture over the rest of Europe. On the contrary, the first abortive attempt at a revival of learning was due to Charlemagne at Aix; the second to the Emperor Frederick in Apulia and Sicily; and while the Romance nations had lost the classical tradition, it was still to some extent preserved by the Moslem dynasties. The more we study the history of mediæval learning, the more we recognize the debt of civilized humanity to the Arabs for their conservation and transmission of Greek thought in an altered form to Europe. Yet, though the Italians came comparatively late into the field, their action was decisive. Neither Charlemagne nor Frederick, neither the philosophy of the Arabian sages nor the precocious literature of Provence, succeeded in effecting for the education of the modern intellect that which Dante and Petrarch performed—the one by the production of a monumental work of art in poetry, the other by the communication of a new enthusiasm for antiquity to students.

The initiative given by Dante.

Dante does not belong in any strict sense to the history of the Revival of Learning. The *Divine Comedy* closes the Middle Ages and preserves their spirit. But it may be truly said that he initiated the movement of the modern intellect in its entirety, though he did not lead the

Revival considered as a separate movement in this evolution. That service was reserved for Petrarch.

The other source flowing from Petrarch.

There are spots upon the central watershed of Europe where, in the stillness of a summer afternoon, the traveller may listen to the murmurs of two streams—the one hurrying down to form the Rhine, the other to contribute to the Danube or the Po. Born within hearing of each other's voices, and nourished by the self-same clouds that rest upon the crags about them, they are henceforth destined to an ever-widening separation. While the one sweeps onward to the Northern seas, the other will reach the shores of Italy or Greece, and mingle with the Mediterranean. To these two streamlets we might compare Dante and Petrarch, both of whom sprang from Florence, both of whom were nurtured in the learning of the schools and in the lore of chivalrous love.

Petrarch the Interpreter.

In speaking of Petrarch here, it is necessary to concentrate attention upon his claims to be considered as the apostle of scholarship, the inaugurator of the humanistic impulse of the fifteenth century. We have nothing to do with his Italian poetry. The *Rime* dedicated to Madonna Laura have eclipsed the fame of the Latin epic, philosophical discourses, epistles, orations, invectives, and dissertations which made Petrarch the Voltaire of his own age, and on which he thought his immortality would rest. To have foreseen a whole new phase of European culture, to have interpreted its spirit, and determined by his own activity the course it should pursue, is in truth a higher title to fame than the composition of the most perfect sonnets. He may

continue to live in the thoughts of most people only as the poet of Laura, while students will know how much the world owes to his humanistic ardor; and by that we mean the new and vital perception he gave of the dignity of man as a rational being apart from theological determinations, and the further perception that classic literature alone displayed human nature in the plenitude of intellectual and moral freedom.

His weak points.

While regarding Petrarch as the first and, in some respects, the greatest of the humanists, we are bound to recognize the faults as well as the good qualities he shared with them. Foremost among these may be reckoned his vanity, his eagerness to grasp the poet's crown, his appetite for flattery, his restless change from place to place in search of new admirers, his self-complacent garrulity. To achieve renown by writing—to wrest for himself, even in his lifetime, a firm place among the immortals —became his feverish spur to action. He was never tired of praising solitude, and many years of his manhood were spent in actual retirement at Vaucluse. Yet he only loved seclusion as a contrast to the society of Courts, and would have been most miserable if the world, taking him at his own estimate, had left him in peace. No one wrote more eloquently about equal friendship, or professed a stronger zeal for candid criticism. Yet he admitted few but professed admirers to his intimacy, and regarded his literary antagonists as personal detractors.

The impetus he gave to liberal studies.

We are, however, justified in hailing Petrarch as the Columbus of a new spiritual hemisphere, the discoverer of modern culture. That he knew no Greek, that his Latin verse was

lifeless and his prose style far from pure, that his contributions to history and ethics have been superseded, and that his epistles are now only read by antiquaries, cannot impair his claim to this title. From him the inspiration needed to quicken curiosity and stimulate a zeal for knowledge proceeded. But for his intervention in the fourteenth century, it is possible that the Revival of Learning, and all that it implies, might have been delayed until too late. He died in 1374. The Greek Empire was destroyed in 1453. Between those dates Italy recovered the Greek classics; but whether the Italians would have undertaken this labor if no Petrarch had preached the attractiveness of liberal studies, or if no school of disciples had been formed by him in Florence, remains more than doubtful. The vast influence he immediately exercised, while Dante, though gifted with a far more powerful individuality, remained comparatively inoperative, proves that the age was specially prepared to receive his inspiration.

Boccaccio.

Incited by Petrarch's brilliant renown, Boccaccio, while still a young man, began to read the classical authors, bemoaning the years he had wasted in commerce and the study of the law to please his father. From what the poet of the *Decameron* has himself told us about the origin of his literary enthusiasm, it appears that Petrarch's example was decisive in determining his course. There is, however, another tale, reported by his fellow-citizen Villani, so characteristic of the age that to omit it in this place would be to sacrifice one of the most attractive legends in the history of literature. "After wandering through many lands, now here, now there, for a long space of time, when he had reached at

last his twenty-eighth year, Boccaccio, at his father's bidding, took up his abode at Naples in the Pergola. There it chanced one day that he walked forth alone for pleasure, and came to the place where Virgil's dust lies buried. At the sight of this sepulchre he fell into long musing admiration of the man whose bones it covered, brooding with meditative soul upon the poet's fame, until his thoughts found vent in lamentations over his own envious fortunes, whereby he was compelled against his will to give himself to things of commerce that he loathed. A sudden love of the Pierian Muse smote his heart, and, turning homeward, he abandoned trade, devoting himself with fervent study to poetry; wherein very shortly, aided alike by his noble genius and his burning desire, he made marvellous progress. This when his father noted, and perceived that the heavenly inspiration was more powerful within his son than the paternal will, he at last consented to his studies, and helped him as best he could, although at first he tried to make him turn his talents to the canon law."

His admiration of Petrarch.

The hero-worship of Boccaccio, not only for the august Virgil, but also for Dante, the master of his youth and the idol of his mature age, is the most amiable trait in a character which, by its geniality and sweetness, cannot fail to win affection. When circumstances brought him into personal relations with Petrarch, he transferred the whole homage of his ardent soul to the only man alive who seemed to him a fit inheritor of ancient fame. Petrarch became the director of his conscience, the master of his studies, the moulder of his thoughts upon the weightiest matters of literary philosophy. The

friendship established between the poet of Vaucluse and the lover of Fiammetta lasted through more than twenty years, and was only broken by the death of the former a year before his own in 1375.

Independently of his contributions to learning, Boccaccio occupies a prominent place in the history of the Revival through the new spirit he introduced into the vulgar literature. He was the first who frankly sought to justify the pleasures of the carnal life, whose temperament, unburdened by asceticism, found a congenial element in amorous legends of antiquity. The romances of Boccaccio, with their beautiful gardens and sunny skies, fair women and luxurious lovers, formed a transition from the chivalry of the early Italian poets to the sensuality of Beccadelli and Pontano.

His influence on vernacular literature.

Another of Petrarch's disciples, Giovanni Malpaghino, called from his birthplace Giovanni da Ravenna, exercised a more active personal influence over the destinies of scholarship. While still a youth he had been employed by Petrarch as secretary and amanuensis. His general ability, clear handwriting, and enthusiasm for learning first recommended him to the poet, who made use of him for copying manuscripts and arranging his familiar letters. In the course of this work, John of Ravenna became himself a learned man, acquiring a finer sense of Latinity than was possessed by any other scholar of his time. He could not long, however, content himself with being even Petrarch's scribe. He longed to gain the glory he was always reading of. Petrarch, incapable of comprehending that any honor was greater than that of being his satellite, treated his ambitious

Giovanni da Ravenna.

pupil like a wilful child. A quarrel ensued. Giovanni left his benefactor's house, but want and misery drove him back to it for a time. Again the vagrant impulse came upon him, and for a season he filled the post of chancellor in the little principality of Carrara. The one thing, however, that he could not endure was the routine of fixed employment. He soon left Carrara, and took up the more congenial occupation of a wandering professor. His prodigious memory, by enabling him to retain, word for word, the text of authors he had read, proved of invaluable service to him in this career.

Luigi Marsigli.

The name of the next student claiming our attention as a disciple of Petrarch brings us once more back to Florence. Luigi Marsigli was a monk of the Augustine Order of S. Spirito. Petrarch, noticing his distinguished abilities, had exhorted him to make a special study of theology, and to enter the lists as a champion of Christianity against the Averrhoists. Under the name of Averrhoists in the fourteenth century were ranged all freethinkers who questioned the fundamental doctrines of the Church, doubted the immortality of the soul, and employed their ingenuity in a dialectic at least as trivial as that of the schoolmen, but directed to a very different end. Petrarch disliked their want of liberal culture as much as he abhorred their affectation of impiety. The stupid materialism they professed, their gross flippancy, and the idle pretence of natural science upon which they piqued themselves, were regarded by him as so many obstacles to his own ideal of humanism. Against Averrhoes, "the raging hound who barked at all things sacred and divine," Petrarch therefore sought to stimulate the young

Marsigli. Marsigli, however, while he shared Petrarch's respect for human culture, seems to have sympathized with the audacity and freedom of his proposed antagonists. The monastery of S. Spirito became under his influence the centre of a learned society who met there regularly for disputations.

Coluccio de' Salutati.

A disciple of this Marsigli, Coluccio de' Salutati, who entered in 1375 on the duties of Florentine Chancellor, the professed worshipper of Petrarch and the translator of Dante into Latin verse, was destined to exercise an important influence in his own department as a stylist. Before he was called upon to act as secretary to the Signory of Florence, in his forty-sixth year, he had already acquired the learning and imbibed the spirit of his age. He was known as a diligent collector of manuscripts and promoter of Greek studies, as a writer on mythology and morals, as an orator and miscellaneous author. For the first time he introduced into public documents the gravity of style and melody of phrase he had learned in the school of classic rhetoricians. Gian Galeazzo Visconti is said to have declared that Salutati had done him more harm by his style than a troop of paid mercenaries. The epistles, despatches, protocols, and manifestoes, composed by their Chancellor for the Florentine priors, were distributed throughout Italy, and Ciceronian phrases were henceforth reckoned among the indispensable engines of a diplomatic armory. When the illustrious Chancellor died, in the year 1406, at the age of seventy-six, he was honored with a public funeral; the poet's wreath was placed upon his brow, a panegyrical oration was recited, and a monument was erected to him in the Duomo.

Gasparino da Barzizza.

What Salutati accomplished for the style of public documents, Gasparino da Barzizza effected for familiar correspondence. After teaching for several years at Venice and Padua, he was summoned to Milan by Filippo Maria Visconti, who ordered him to open a school in that capital. Gasparino made a special study of Cicero's letters, and caused his pupils to imitate them as closely as possible, forming in this way an art of fluent letter-writing known afterwards as the *ars familiariter scribendi.* Epistolography in general, considered as a branch of elegant literature, occupied all the scholars of the Renaissance, and had the advantage of establishing a link of union between learned men in different parts of Italy. We therefore recognize in him the initiator, after Petrarch, of a highly important branch of Italian culture.

Manuel Chrysoloras.

We must close this brief retrospect with the advent of a man who played a part in the Revival of Learning only second to that of Petrarch. Manuel Chrysoloras, a Byzantine of noble birth, came to Italy during the pontificate of Boniface IX., charged by the Emperor Palæologus with the mission of attempting to arm the states of Christendom against the Turks. His fame, as the most accomplished and eloquent Hellenist of his age, awoke a passionate desire in Palla degli Strozzi and Niccolo de' Niccoli to bring him to Florence. Their urgent appeals to the Signory resulted in an invitation whereby Chrysoloras in 1396 was induced to fill the Greek chair in the university. This engagement secured the future of Greek erudition in Europe. The scholars who assembled in the lecture-rooms of Chrysoloras felt that the Greek texts, whereof he alone supplied the key, con-

tained those elements of spiritual freedom and intellectual culture without which the civilization of the modern world would be impossible. Nor were they mistaken in what was then a guess rather than a certainty. The study of Greek implied the birth of criticism, comparison, research; it opened philosophical horizons far beyond the dream-world of the churchmen and the monks; it resuscitated a sense of the beautiful in art and literature, and stimulated into activity the germs of science.

VIII.

THE FLORENTINE HISTORIANS.

FLORENCE was essentially the city of intelligence in modern times. Other nations have surpassed the Italians in their genius—the quality which gave a superhuman power of insight to Shakespeare, and an universal sympathy to Goethe. But nowhere else except at Athens has the whole population of a city been so permeated with ideas, so highly intellectual by nature, so keen in perception, so witty and so subtle, as at Florence.

The interest and value of their works.

This marvellous intelligence, which was her pride, burned brightly in a long series of historians and annalists, who have handed down to us the biography of the city in volumes as remarkable for penetrative acumen as for definite delineation and dramatic interest. We possess picture-galleries of pages in which the great men of Florence live again and seem to breathe and move, epics of the commonwealth's vicissitudes from her earliest commencement, detailed tragedies and highly-finished episodes, studies of separate characters, and idylls detached from the main current of her story. The whole mass of this historical literature is instinct with the spirit of criticism and vital with experience. Trained in the study of antiquity, as well as in the council chambers of the republic and in the

courts of foreign princes, they survey the matter of their histories from a lofty vantage ground, fortifying their speculative conclusions by practical knowledge, and purifying their judgment of contemporary events with the philosophy of the past. Owing to this rare mixture of qualities, the Florentines deserve to be styled the discoverers of the historic method for the modern world.

The year 1300 marks the first development of historical research in Florence. Two great writers, Dante Alighieri and Giovanni Villani, at this epoch pursued different lines of study which determined the future of this branch of literature for the Italians. Giovanni Villani relates how, having visited Rome on the occasion of the Jubilee, when 200,000 pilgrims crowded the streets of the Eternal City, he was moved to the depths of his soul by the spectacle of the ruins of the discrowned mistress of the world. "When I saw the great and ancient monuments of Rome, and read the histories and the great deeds of the Romans, written by Virgil and by Sallust, by Lucan and by Livy, by Valerius and Orosius, and other masters of history, who related small as well as great things of the acts and doings of the Romans, I took style and manner from them, though, as learner, I was not worthy of so vast a work." Like our own Gibbon, musing upon the steps of Ara Celi, within sight of the Capitol, and hearing within the monks at prayer, he felt the *genius loci* stir him with a mixture of astonishment and pathos.

Giovanni Villani.

The result of this visit to Rome in 1300 was the Chronicle which Giovanni Villani carried, in twelve books, down to the year 1346. Two years afterwards he died of the plague, and his work was continued on the same

His history continued by his brother and nephew

plan by his brother Matteo. Matteo in his turn died of the plague in 1362, and left the Chronicle to his son Filippo, who brought it down to the year 1365. Of the three Villani, Giovanni is the greatest, both as a master of style and as an historical artist. This Chronicle is a treasure-house of clear and accurate delineation rather than of profound analysis. Not only does it embrace the whole affairs of Europe in annals which leave little to be desired in precision of detail and brevity of statement; but, what is more to our present purpose, it conveys a lively picture of the internal condition of the Florentines, and the manners of the city in the fourteenth century. The work remains a monument, unique in mediæval literature, of statistical patience and economical sagacity, proving how far in advance of the European nations were the Italians at this period.

Dante's method more philosophical than Villani's.

Dante's aim was wholly different. Of statistics and of historical detail we gain but little from his prose works. His mind was that of a philosopher who generalizes, and of a poet who seizes salient characteristics, not that of an annalist who aims at scrupulous fidelity in his accounts of facts. In his treatise *De Monarchia* we possess the first attempt at political speculation, the first essay in constitutional philosophy to which the literature of modern Europe gave birth; while his letters addressed to the princes of Italy, the cardinals, the Emperor, and the Republic of Florence, are in like manner the first instances of political pamphlets setting forth a rationalized and consistent system of the rights and duties of nations. In the *De Monarchia* Dante bases a theory of universal govern-

ment upon a definite conception of the nature and the destinies of humanity. Amid the anarchy and discord of Italy, where selfishness was everywhere predominant, and where the factions of the papacy and empire were but cloaks for party strife, Dante endeavors to bring his countrymen back to a sublime ideal of a single monarchy, a true *imperium*, distinct from the priestly authority of the Church, but not hostile to it, seeking rather sanction from Christ's Vicar while affording protection to the Holy See. The Epistles contain the same thoughts: peace, mutual respect, and obedience to a common head, the duty of the chief to his subordinates, and of the governed to their lord.

Dino Compagni.

While discussing the historical work of Dante and the Villani, it is impossible that another famous Florentine should not arrest our notice, whose name has long been connected with the civic contests that resulted in the exile of Italy's greatest poet from his native city. Yet it is not easy for a foreign critic to deal with the question of Dino Compagni's Chronicle—a question which for years has divided Italian students into two camps, which has produced a voluminous literature of its own, and which still remains undecided.

The interest of his Chronicle apart from the doubt thrown upon its authority.

Dino Compagni, whose "Chronicle" embraces the period between 1280 and 1312, took the popular side in the struggles of 1282, sat as prior in 1289 and in 1301, and was chosen Gonfalonier of Justice in 1293. He was therefore a prominent actor in the drama of those troublous times. He died in 1324, two years and four months after the date of Dante's death, and was buried in the Church

of Santa Trinitâ. He was a man of the same stamp as Dante; burning with love for his country, but still more a lover of the truth; severe in judgment, but beyond suspicion of mere partisanship; brief in utterance, but weighty with personal experience, profound conviction, prophetic intensity of feeling, sincerity, and justice. As an historian he narrowed his labors to the field of one small but highly-finished picture. He undertook to narrate the civic quarrels of his times, and to show how the commonwealth of Florence was brought to ruin by the selfishness of her own citizens; nor can his "Chronicle," although it is by no means a masterpiece of historical accuracy or of lucid arrangement, be surpassed for the liveliness of its delineation, the graphic clearness of its characters, the earnestness of its patriotic spirit, and the acute analysis which lays bare the political situation of a republic torn by factions, during the memorable period which embraced the revolution of Giano della Bella and the struggles of the *Neri* and *Bianchi*. If it were a forgery, the labor of concocting it must have been enormous. With all its defects the "Chronicle" would still remain a masterpiece of historical research, imagination, sympathy with bygone modes of feeling, dramatic vigor, and antiquarian command of language.

Later historians.

The historians of the first half of the sixteenth century are a race apart. Amid the universal corruption of public morals, from the depths of sloth and servitude, when the reality of liberty was lost, when fate and fortune had combined to render constitutional reconstruction impossible for the shattered republics of Italy, the intellect of the Florentines displayed itself with more than its old vigor

in a series of the most brilliant political writers who have ever illustrated one short but eventful period in the life of a single nation. That period is marked by the years 1494 to 1537. It embraces the two final efforts of the Florentines to shake off the Medicean yoke; the efforts of Savonarola in this cause, and his contest with Alexander VI.; the Church-rule of the Medicean Popes, Leo X. and Clement VII.; the disastrous siege during the pontificate of the latter, which we have still to narrate; and the final eclipse of liberty beneath the Spain-appointed dynasty of the younger Medicean line. The names of the historians of this period are:

	Born	Died
Niccolò Machiavelli.	1469	1527
Jacopo Nardi	1476	1556
Francesco Guicciardini	1482	1540
Filippo Nerli	1485	1536
Donato Giannotti	1492	1572
Benedetto Varchi	1502	1565
Bernardo Segni.	1504	1558
Jacopo Pitti	1519	1589

In these men the mental qualities which we admire in Dante, the Villani, and Compagni reappear, combined indeed in different proportions, tempered with the new philosophy and scholarship of the Renaissance, and permeated with quite another morality.

Machiavelli.

The biography of Machiavelli consists for the most part of a record of his public services to the State of Florence. He was born on May 3, 1469, of parents who belonged to the prosperous middle class of Florentine citizens. His ancestry was

noble; for the old tradition which connected his descent with the feudal house of Montespertoli has been confirmed by documentary evidence. His forefathers held offices of high distinction in the commonwealth; and, though their wealth and station had decreased, Machiavelli inherited a small landed estate.

His official occupations.

In 1494, the date of the expulsion of the Medici, Machiavelli was admitted to the Chancery of the Commune as a clerk; and in 1498 he was appointed to the post of chancellor and secretary to the *Dieci di libertà e pace*. This place he held for the half of fifteen years—that is to say, during the whole period of Florentine freedom. His diplomatic missions, undertaken at the instance of the republic, were very numerous. Omitting those of less importance we find him at the camp of Cesare Borgia in 1502, in France in 1504, with Julius II. in 1506, with the Emperor Maximilian in 1507, and again at the French court in 1510. To this department of his public life belong the despatches and *Relazioni* which he sent home to the Signory of Florence, his monograph upon the massacre of Sinigaglia, his treatises upon the method of dealing with Pisa, Pistoja, and Valdichiana, and those two remarkable studies of foreign nations which are entitled *Ritratti delle Cose dell' Alemagna* and *Ritratti delle Cose di Francia*. It was also in the year 1500 that he laid the first foundation of his improved military system. The political sagacity and the patriotism for which Machiavelli has been admired are nowhere more conspicuous than in the discernment which suggested this measure, and in the indefatigable zeal with which he strove to carry it into effect. Pondering upon the causes of Italian

weakness when confronted with nations like the French and comparing contemporary with ancient history, Machiavelli came to the conclusion that the universal employment of mercenary troops was the chief secret of the insecurity of Italy. He therefore conceived a plan for establishing a national militia, and for placing the whole male population at the service of the state in times of war. The Florentines allowed themselves to be convinced, and on his recommendation they voted in 1506 a new magistracy for the formation of companies, the discipline of soldiers, and the maintenance of the militia in a state of readiness for active service. Of this board he became the secretary.

His imprisonment by the Medici and retirement.

It must be admitted that the new militia proved ineffectual in the hour of need. To revive the martial spirit of a nation, enervated by tyranny and given over to commerce, merely by a stroke of genius, was beyond the force of even Machiavelli. When Prato was sacked in 1512, the Florentines, destitute of troops, divided among themselves, and headed by the excellent but hesitating Piero Soderini, threw their gates open to the Medici. Giuliano, the brother of Pope Leo, and Lorenzo, his nephew, whose statues sit throned in the immortality of Michael Angelo's marble upon their tombs in San Lorenzo, disposed of the republic at their pleasure. On the ground of his being concerned in a conspiracy, Machiavelli was, in 1513, imprisoned in the Bargello, and tortured to the extent of four turns of the rack. It seems that he was innocent, for Leo X. released him by the act of amnesty passed upon his assuming the tiara; and Machiavelli immediately retired to his farm near San Casciano. The letters he wrote at this

time, in the desire for further employment, are not creditable to his memory.

He appeals to be reinstated.

In some respects Dante, Machiavelli, and Michael Angelo Buonarroti may be said to have been the three greatest intellects produced by Florence. Dante, in exile and in opposition, would hold no sort of traffic with her citizens. Michael Angelo, after the siege, worked at the Medici tombs for Pope Clement as a peace-offering for the fortification of San Miniato; while Machiavelli entreats to be put "to roll a stone," if only he may so escape from poverty and dulness. He owed nothing to the Medici who had disgraced and tortured him; yet what was the gift with which he came before them as a suppliant? A treatise, *De Principatibus*—in other words, the celebrated *Principe*—which, misread it as Machiavelli's apologists may choose to do, or explain it as the rational historian is bound to do, yet carries venom in its pages. Remembering the circumstances under which it was composed, we are in a condition to estimate the proud humility and prostrate pride of the dedication. "Niccolò Machiavelli to the Magnificent Lorenzo, son of Piero de' Medici": so runs the title. "Desiring to present myself to your Magnificence with some proof of my devotion, I have not found among my various furniture aught that I prize more than the knowledge of the actions of great men acquired by me through a long experience of modern affairs and a continual study of ancient. These I have long and diligently resolved and examined in my mind, and have now compressed into a little book which I send to your Magnificence. And though I judge this work unworthy of your presence, yet I am confident that your humanity will cause

you to value it when you consider that I could not make you a greater gift than this of enabling you in a few hours to understand what I have learned through perils and discomforts in a lengthy course of years. . . . If your Magnificence will deign, from the summit of your height, some time to turn your eyes to my low place, you will know how unjustly I am forced to endure the great and continued malice of fortune." The work so dedicated was sent in manuscript for the Magnificent's private perusal. It was not published until 1532, by order of Clement VII., after the death of Machiavelli.

The ethics of his work "De Principatibus."

If we can pretend to sound the depths of Machiavelli's mind at this distance of time, we may conjecture that he had come to believe the free cities too corrupt for independence. The only chance Italy had of holding her own against the great powers of Europe was by union under a prince, and if the power of the Church could not be neutralized, then with the Pope for an ally. He believed, accordingly, that the right way to attain a result so splendid as the liberation of Italy was to proceed by force, craft, bad faith, and all the petty acts of a political adventurer. The public ethics of the day had sunk to this low level. Success, he thought, by means of plain dealing was impossible. The game of statecraft could only be carried on by guile and violence. Even the clear genius of Machiavelli had been obscured by the muddy medium of intrigue in which he had been working all his life. We learn from Varchi that Machiavelli was execrated in Florence for his *Principe*, the poor thinking it would teach the Medici to take away their honor, the rich regarding it as an attack upon their wealth, and both discerning in it a death-blow to freedom.

Not receiving from Lorenzo the employment he hoped for, we find Machiavelli, between 1516 and 1519, taking part in the literary and philosophical discussions of the Florentine Academy, which assembled at that period in the Rucellai Gardens. It was here that he read the "Discourses on the First Decade of Livy"—a series of profound essays upon the administration of the state, to which the sentences of the historian serve as texts. Having set forth in the *Principe* the method of gaining or maintaining sovereign power, he shows in the *Discorsi* what institutions are necessary to preserve the body politic in a condition of vigorous activity. We may therefore regard the *Discorsi* as in some sense a continuation of the *Principe*.

His lectures in the Florentine Academy.

The seven books on the *Art of War* may be referred with certainty to the same period of Machiavelli's life. If we may venture to connect the works of his enforced leisure according to the plan above suggested, this treatise forms a supplement to the *Principe* and the *Discorsi*. Both in his analysis of the successful tyrant, and in his description of the powerful commonwealth, he had insisted on the prime necessity of warfare, conducted by the rulers in person. The military organization of a great kingdom is here developed, and Machiavelli's favorite scheme for nationalizing the militia of Italy is systematically expounded.

His views of warfare.

By this time Lorenzo had made up his mind to take Machiavelli again into favor; but the work and the missions he was called upon to undertake were of no importance. His great achievement in the last years of his life was the

His Florentine History.

Istorie Fiorentine. The commission for this work he received from Giulio de' Medici, and in 1527, the year of his death, he dedicated the finished history to Clement VII. This masterpiece of literary art, though it may be open to the charges of inaccuracy and superficiality, marks an epoch in the development of modern historiography. By applying the philosophical method to history, Machiavelli enriched the science of humanity with a new department. His style is adequate to the matter of his work. Never were clear and definite thoughts expressed with greater precision in language of more masculine vigor.

His death.

Machiavelli, according to the letter addressed by his son Pietro to Francesco Nelli, died of a dose of medicine taken at a wrong time. He was attended on his deathbed by a friar, who received his confession. His private morality was but indifferent. His contempt for weakness and simplicity was undisguised. His knowledge of the world and men had turned to cynicism. The frigid philosophy expressed in his political essays, and the sarcastic speeches in which he gave a vent to his soured humors, made him unpopular. It was supposed that he died with blasphemy upon his lips, after turning all the sanctities of human nature into ridicule. Through these myths, as through a mist, we may discern the bitterness of that great disenchanted, disappointed soul.

Guicciardini.

Francesco Guicciardini, in 1505, at the age of twenty-three, had already so distinguished himself as a student of law that he was appointed by the Signoria of Florence to read the Institutes in public. But, preferring active to professorial work, he began to practice at the bar, and soon

ranked as an able advocate and eloquent speaker. This reputation, together with his character for gravity and insight, determined the Signoria to send him on an embassy to the court of Ferdinand of Aragon in 1512. Thus Guicciardini entered on the real work of his life as a diplomatist and statesman.

His public engagements.

Returning to Florence, he was, in 1513, deputed to meet Leo X. at Cortona on the part of the republic. Leo, who had the faculty of discerning able men and making use of them, took him into favor, and three years later appointed him Governor of Reggio and Modena, to which Parma was added in 1521. In 1523 he became Viceroy of Romagna, and in 1526 Lieutenant-General of the Papal Army. In consequence of this high commission, he shared in the humiliation attaching to all the officers of the League at the sack of Rome in 1527. He was, however, with the army, not as a general, but as a referee in the Pope's interest, and as a reporter to the Vatican. In 1531 he was advanced to the governorship of Bologna, the most important of all the Papal lieutenancies. This post he resigned in 1534, on the election of Paul III., preferring to follow the fortunes of the Medicean princes at Florence. It was an unfortunate choice for his future career and reputation. He had been declared a rebel in 1527 by the Florentine government for his adherence to the Medici, and this insult he had revenged on the citizens in 1530, when deputed by Clement VII. to punish them. It was, therefore, now still more to his interest to maintain the bastard Alessandro in power, and he successfully defended him at the court of Charles V. at Naples, in 1535, when arraigned by the exiles for his

unbearable despotism. Two years later, after the assassination of Alessandro, having seated the young Cosimo, with the title of Duke, at the head of affairs, and finding that his own influence had waned, Guicciardini reluctantly retired to his villa, and in 1540 died there at the age of fifty-eight.

His History of Italy.

Turning now from the statesman to the man of letters, we find in Guicciardini one of the most consummate historians of any nation or of any age. The work by which he is best known, the *Istoria d' Italia*, is one that can scarcely be surpassed for masterly control of a very intricate period, for the subordination of the parts to the whole, for calmness of judgment, and for philosophic depth of thought. Considering that he in this great work was writing the annals of his own times, and that he had to disentangle the ravelled skein of Italian politics in the sixteenth century, these qualities are most remarkable. Yet Guicciardini in this work deserves less commendation as a writer than as a thinker. His periods are almost interminable, and his rhetoric is prolix and monotonous.

His later works.

Two other masterpieces from his pen, the *Dialogo del Reggimento di Firenze*, and the *Storia Fiorentina*, have been only recently given to the world. In these writings we find him at his best. His style is more spontaneous; his utterances are less guarded. At the same time the political sagacity of the statesman is revealed in all its vigor.

Nardi, Nerli, and Giannotti.

The other writers we have mentioned carry on the *Storia Fiorentina* from the year 1527 to the year 1537. Nardi, who composed his history in exile at Venice, where he died,

acted as secretary and advocate for Filippo Strozzi and the other exiles when, as we have mentioned, Guicciardini was pleading the cause of Alessandro de' Medici before Charles V. Nerli also took part in the events of those troublous times, but on the wrong side, by mixing himself up with the exiles, and acting as a spy upon their projects. Giannotti was also an actor in the events of the siege, and afterwards appeared among the exiles of that time.

Varchi, Segni, and Pitti.

Varchi, in whom the flame of patriotism burns brightest, and who is by far the most copious annalist of the period, was a native of Montevarchi. Yet, as often happens, he was more Florentine than the Florentines; and of the events which he describes he had for the most part been witness. Duke Cosimo employed him to write the history; and it is a credit both to the prince and to the author that its chapters should be full of criticisms so outspoken, and of aspirations after liberty so vehement. Segni was nephew of the Gonfalonier Capponi, and shared the anxieties of the moderate Liberals during the siege of Florence. Lastly, Pitti was a member of the great house who contested the leadership of the republic with the Medici in the fifteenth century; his zeal for the popular party and his hatred of the *Palleschi*. the Medicean faction, may still perhaps be tinctured with ancestral animosity.

A comparison of their various styles.

The literary qualities of these historians are very different, and seem to be derived from essential differences in their characters. Pitti is by far the most brilliant in style, concentrated in expression to the point of epigram, and weighty in judgment. Nardi, though deficient in

some of the most attractive characteristics of the historian, is invaluable for sincerity of intention and painstaking accuracy. The interest of his chronicle is greatest in the part which concerns Savonarola, though even here the peculiarly reticent and dubitative nature of the man is obvious. While he sympathizes with Savonarola's political and moral reforms, he raises a doubt about his inner sincerity, and does not approve of the attitude of his followers, the *Piagnoni*. Segni is far more lively than Nardi, while he is not less painstaking to be accurate. Rarely have the entangled events of a specially dramatic period been set forth more lucidly, more succinctly, and with greater elegance of style. He is deficient, when compared with Varchi, only perhaps in volume, minuteness, and that wonderful mixture of candor, enthusiasm, and zeal for truth which makes Varchi incomparable. His sketches of men, critiques, and digressions upon statistical details are far less copious than Varchi's; but in idiomatic purity of language he is superior. Varchi had been spoiled by academic habits of composition. His language is diffuse and lumbering. He lacks the vivacity of epigram, selection, and pointed phrase. Nerli is altogether a less interesting writer than those that have been mentioned; yet some of the particulars which he relates, about Savonarola's reform of manners, for example, and the literary gatherings in the Rucellai gardens, are such as we find nowhere else.

The value of these works to the student.

Too much time has hardly been spent in this survey of the annalists of one of the most interesting periods in the fortunes of Florence. For the student of history their narratives have a value almost unique. They suggest

the possibilities of a true science of comparative history, and reveal a vivacity of the historic consciousness which can be paralleled by no other nation. How different might be our conceptions of the vicissitudes of Athens between 404 and 338 B.C. if we possessed a similar band of contemporary Greek authors!

IX.

LITERARY SOCIETY AT FLORENCE.

NOTHING is more obvious to the student who has mastered the first difficulties caused by the intricacy of Italian history, than the fact that all the mental force of the nation was generated in Tuscany, and radiated thence, as from a centre of vital heat and light, over the rest of the peninsula. This is true of the revival of learning no less than of the fine arts and of the origin of science. From the republics of Tuscany, and from Florence in particular, proceeded the impulse and the energy that led to fruitful results in all of these departments.

The life at Florence favorable to culture.

In Florence, if anywhere in Italy, existed the conditions under which a republic of letters and of culture could be formed. She could boast of a population of burghers excelling in intelligence and taste, owing less to ancestry than to personal eminence, devoting their energies to civic ambition worthy of the Romans, and to mental activity which reminds us of the ancient Greeks. Here, therefore, and here alone, was created a public capable instinctively of comprehending what is beautiful in art and humane in letters, a race of craftsmen and of scholars who knew that their labors could not fail to be appreciated, and a class of patrons who sought no better

bestowal of their wealth than on those arts and sciences which dignify the life of man.

The leading men give it encouragement.

What makes the part played by Florence in the history of learning the more remarkable is, that the chiefs of the political factions were at the same time the leaders of intellectual progress. Rinaldo degli Albizzi and Cosimo de' Medici, while opposed as antagonists in a duel to the death upon the stage of the republic, vied with each other in the patronage they extended to men of letters. Rinaldo was himself no mean scholar; and he chose one of the greatest men of the age, Tommaso da Sarzana, to be tutor to his children. We have already mentioned Palla degli Strozzi's services in the cause of Greek learning. Besides the invitation he caused to be sent to Manuel Chrysoloras, he employed his wealth and influence in providing books necessary for the prosecution of Hellenic studies.

Cosimo de' Medici.

The work begun by Palla degli Strozzi was ably continued by his enemy, Cosimo de' Medici, *Pater Patriæ*. No Italian of his epoch combined zeal for learning, and generosity in all that could advance the interests of arts and letters, more characteristically with political corruption and cynical egotism. Much of the influence which he transmitted to his descendants was due to his sympathy with the intellectual movements of the age. He had received a solid education; and, though he was not a Greek scholar, his mind was open to the interests which in the fifteenth century absorbed the Florentines. He collected manuscripts, gems, coins, and inscriptions, employing the resources of his banking house, and engaging his commercial agents in this work. Painters

and sculptors, no less than scholars and copyists, found in him a liberal patron. The sums of money spent by him in building were enormous. Of these the most important were the monastery of S. Marco, the church of S. Lorenzo, and the abbey of Fiesole, while his villas at Careggi and Caffagiolo implied a further large expenditure.

He institutes public libraries.

The chief benefit conferred by him on learning was the accumulation and the housing of large public libraries. During his exile (Oct. 3, 1433, to Oct. 1, 1434) he built the library of S. Giorgio Maggiore at Venice, and after his return to Florence he formed three separate collections of MSS. While the hall of the library of S. Marco was in process of construction, Niccolò de' Niccoli died, in 1437, bequeathing his 800 MSS. to the care of trustees, of whom Cosimo was one. He obtained the sole right to this collection by taking upon himself the heavy debts left by Niccoli. In 1441 the hall of S. Marco was finished, and 400 of Niccoli's MSS. were placed there, the other 400 being retained for the Medicean library. At the same time he spared no pains in adding to the Marcian collection. When the abbey of Fiesole was finished, he set about providing this also with a library suited to the wants of learned ecclesiastics. The two libraries thus formed for the monasteries of S. Marco and Fiesole, together with his own private collection, constitute the oldest portion of the present Laurentian Library.

The literary coterie formed by him.

Cosimo's zeal for learning was not confined to the building of libraries nor to book-collecting. His palace formed the centre of a literary and philosophical society which united all

the wits of Florence and the visitors who crowded to the capital of culture. The discernment of character possessed by him in a very high degree not only enabled him to extend enlightened patronage to arts and letters, but also to provide for the future needs of erudition. Stimulated by the presence of the Greeks who crowded Florence during the sitting of the council in 1438, he formed a plan for encouraging Hellenic studies. It was he who founded the Platonic Academy, and educated Marsilio Ficino, the son of his physician, of whom we shall speak presently, for the special purpose of interpreting Greek philosophy.

Niccolo de' Niccoli.

Among the friends in the *entourage* of Cosimo, to whose personal influence the revival of learning owed a vigorous impulse, mention must be first made of Niccolò de' Niccoli. The part he took in promoting Greek studies has been already noticed, and we have seen that his private library formed the nucleus of the Marcian collection. His judgment in matters of style was so highly valued that it was usual for scholars to submit their essays to his eyes before they ventured upon publication. Thus Lionardo Bruni sent him his *Life of Cicero*, calling him the "censor of the Latin tongue." Notwithstanding his fine sense of language, Niccoli never appeared before the world of letters as an author. His enemies made the most of this reluctance, averring that he knew his own ineptitude; while his friends referred his silence to an exquisite fastidiousness of taste. Certainly his reserve, in an age noteworthy for arrogant display, has tended to confer on him distinction. The position he occupied at Florence was that of a literary dictator. All who needed his assistance and advice were received with urbanity.

He threw his house open to young men of parts, engaged in disputations with the curious, and provided the ill-educated with teachers. Foreigners from all parts of Italy paid him visits; the strangers who came to Florence at that time, if they missed the opportunity of seeing him, thought that they had wasted their time. The house where he lived was worthy of his refined taste and cultivated judgment; for he had formed a museum of antiquities—inscriptions, marbles, coins, vases, and engraved gems. There he not only received students and strangers, but conversed with sculptors and painters, discussing their work as freely as he criticised the essays of the scholars. What distinguished Niccolò, therefore, was the combination of refinement and humane breeding with open-handed generosity and devotion to the cause of culture.

Bruni.

Among the men of ability who adorned Florence at this period, no one stands forth with a more distinguished personality than Lionardo Bruni. In his boyhood at Arezzo, where his parents occupied a humble position, he used, as he tells us in his *Commentaries*, to gaze on Petrarch's portrait, fervently desiring that he might win like laurels in the field of scholarship. At first, however, being poor and of no reputation, he was forced to apply his talents to the study of the law. From these uncongenial labors the patronage of Salutati and the influence of Chrysoloras saved him. Having begun to write for the public, his fame as a Latinist soon spread so wide that he was appointed Apostolic Secretary to the Roman Curia. After sharing the ill fortunes of John XXIII. at Constance, and serving under Martin V. at Florence, he was appointed to the Chancery of the Republic in 1427, a post which he

occupied until his death in 1443. His diplomatic letters were regarded as models of that kind of composition, and his public speeches, carefully prepared beforehand, were compared with those of Pericles.

His literary work.

Among the compositions which secured his reputation should first be mentioned the Latin *History of Florence*, a work unique of its kind at that time in Italy. The grateful republic rewarded their Chancellor by bestowing upon him the citizenship of Florence, and by exempting the author and his children from taxation. His mediæval erudition was exercised in a history of the Gothic invasion of Italy, while his more elegant style found ample scope in Latin lives of Cicero and Aristotle, in a book of *Commentaries* on his own times, and in ten volumes of collected letters. These original works were possibly of less importance than his translations from the Greek, which passed in his own age for models of sound scholarship as well as pure Latinity. If we consider that, in the midst of these severe labors, and under the pressure of his public engagements, he still found time to compose Italian lives of Dante and Petrarch, we shall understand the admiration universally expressed by his contemporaries for his comprehensive talents, and share their gratitude for services so numerous in the cause of learning. When he died, in 1443, the priors decreed him a public funeral, "after the manner of the ancients." His corpse was clothed in dark silk, and on his breast was laid a copy of the Florentine History. Thus attired, he passed in state to S. Croce, where Giannozzo Manetti, in the presence of the Signory, the foreign ambassadors, and the court of Pope Eugenius, pro-

nounced a funeral oration and placed the laurel wreath upon his brow. The monument beneath which he reposes is an excellent specimen of Florentine sepulchral statuary, executed by Bernardo Rossellino.

Facing Bruni's tomb in S. Croce is that of Carlo Aretino, wrought with subtler art and in a richer style by Desiderio da Settignano. **Aretino.** Aretino, who succeeded Bruni in the Chancery of the Republic, shared during his lifetime, as well as in the public honors paid him at his death, very similar fortunes. His family name was Marsuppini, and he was born of a good family in Arezzo. Having come to Florence while a youth to study Greek, he fell under the notice of Niccolò de' Niccoli, who introduced him to the Medicean family, and procured him an engagement at a high salary from the *Uffiziali dello Studio*. At the time when he began to lecture, Eugenius IV. was holding his court at Florence. The cardinals and nephews of the Pope, attended by foreign ambassadors, and followed by the apostolic secretaries, mingled with burghers of Florence and students from a distance round the desk of the young scholar. Aretino's reading was known to be extensive, and his memory was celebrated as prodigious. Yet on the occasion of his first lecture he far surpassed all that was expected of him. "Before a crowd of learned men," says Vespasiano, "he gave a great proof of his memory, for neither Greeks nor Romans had an author from whom he did not quote." He was soon made Apostolic Secretary, and then promoted to the Chancery of Florence. He was grave in manner, taciturn in speech, and much given to melancholy. His contemporaries regarded him as a man of no religion, and he was said to have

died without confession or communion. This did not prevent his being buried in S. Croce with ceremonies similar to those decreed for Lionardo Bruni. Matteo Palmieri pronounced the funeral oration, and placed the laurel on his brow.

Palmieri.

Matteo Palmieri, whom we have just mentioned, sprang from an honorable Florentine stock, and by his own abilities rose to a station of considerable public influence. He is principally famous as the author of a mystical poem called *Città di Vita*, which, though it was condemned for its heretical opinions, obtained from Ficino for its author the title of *Poeta Theologicus*. Palmieri claims a passing notice here among the humanists who acquired high place and honor by the credit of his eloquence and style.

Manetti.

Giannozzo Manetti, whom we have seen at the tomb of Bruni, belonged to an illustrious house, and in his youth, like other well-born Florentines, was trained for mercantile affairs. At the age of five-and-twenty he threw off the parental control, and gave himself entirely to letters. His house and garden communicated with the monastery of S. Spirito, and, being passionately fond of disputation, he sought his chief amusement there in the debating society founded by Marsigli. Ambrozio Traversari was his master in Greek. Latin he had no difficulty in acquiring, and soon gained such facility in its exercise that even Lionardo Bruni is said to have envied his fluency. He was not, however, contented with these languages, and, in order to perfect himself in Hebrew, kept a Jew in his own house. When he had acquired sufficient familiarity with Hebrew, he turned the arms supplied him by his tutors against their heresies,

basing his arguments upon such interpretations of texts as his superior philology suggested to him. The great work of his literary leisure was a polemical discourse, *Contra Judæos et Gentes;* for, unlike Aretino, he placed his erudition solely at the service of the Christian faith. Another fruit of his Hebrew studies was a new translation of the Psalms from the original.

His official engagements.

Manetti was far from being a mere student. During the best years of his life he was continually employed as ambassador to the republic at Venice, Naples, Rome, and other courts of Italy. He administered the government of Pescia, Pistoja, and Scarparia in times of great difficulty, winning a singular reputation for probity and justice. On all occasions of state his eloquence made him indispensable to the Signory, while the lists of his writings include numerous speeches upon various topics addressed to potentates and princes throughout Italy.

His ill-treatment by the Medici.

He became at last so great a power in Florence that he excited the jealousy of the Medicean party. They ruined him by the imposition of extravagant taxes, and he was obliged to end his life an exile from his native land. Florence never behaved worse to a more blameless citizen; for Manetti, by his cheerful acceptance of public burdens, by his prudence in the discharge of weighty offices, by the piety and sobriety of his private life, by his vast acquirements, and by the single-hearted zeal with which he burned for learning, had proved himself the model of such men as might have saved the State, if safety had been possible. He retired to the court of Nicholas V., who had previously named him Apostolic Secretary; and on the death of that Pope he

sought a final refuge with Alfonso at Naples. There he devoted himself entirely to literature, translating the whole of the New Testament, and carrying his great controversial work against the Jews and Gentiles onwards to completion.

Traversari.

Ambrozio Traversari, Manetti's master in Greek, was of a different stamp from those who felt the neo-pagan impulse of the classical revival; yet he owed political influence and a high place among the leaders of his age to humanistic enthusiasm. Born in Romagna, and admitted while yet a child into the Monastery degli Angeli at Florence, he gave early signs of his capacity for literature. At a time when knowledge of Greek was still a rare title to distinction, Traversari mastered the elements of the language and studied the Greek Fathers in the original. His cell became the meeting place of learned men, where Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici, the stately Bruni, and the sombre Aretino, joined with Niccoli and Poggio in earnest conversation.

His public occupations.

It seemed as though he were destined to pursue a peaceful student's life among his books; and for this career nature had marked out the little, meagre, lively and laborious man. To be eminent in scholarship, however, and to avoid the burdens of celebrity, was impossible in that age. Eugenius IV., while resident in Florence, was so impressed with his literary eminence and strength of character that he made him General of the Camaldolese Order in 1431; and from this time forward Traversari's life was divided between public duties, for which he was scarcely fitted, and private studies that absorbed his deepest interests. He presented the curious spectacle

of a monk distracted between the scruples of the cloister and the wider claims of humanism, who showed one mood to his Order and another to his literary friends.

These men—Niccoli, Bruni, Aretino, Manetti, and Traversari—formed the literary oligarchy who surrounded Cosimo de' Medici, and through their industry and influence restored the studies of antiquity at Florence. A combination of external circumstances gave an impulse to this activity. Eugenius IV. had been expelled from Rome, and, as we have frequently had occasion to mention, had fixed his headquarters in Florence, whither, in 1438, he transferred the council which had first been opened at Ferrara for negotiating the union of the Greek and Latin Churches. The Emperor of the East, John Palæologus, surrounded by his theologians, of whom Gemistos Plethon was the most distinguished, with cardinals and secretaries, now took up their quarters in the city of the Medici. A temporary building at Santa Maria Novella was erected for the sessions of the council, and for several months Florence entertained as guests the chiefs of the two great sections of Christendom. Unimportant as were the results, both political and ecclesiastical, of this council, the meeting of the Eastern and the Western powers in conclave vividly impressed the imagination of the Florentines, and communicated a more than transient impulse to their intellectual energies.

Eugenius IV.

To pass on now to a later period, Cosimo, before his death in 1464, had succeeded in rendering his family necessary to the State of Florence. Both his son Piero, called by the Florentines *Il Gottoso*, and his grandson Lorenzo, who gained the

Piero de' Medici.

title by which Machiavelli had addressed him of the Magnificent, well understood the parts they had to play. Piero, who was of a sickly constitution, enjoyed his dignity for only five years, but he had strengthened the position and influence of his family by marrying his son Lorenzo to Clarice degli Orsini, of the princely Roman house.

Lorenzo de' Medici.

Though Lorenzo neglected the pursuit of wealth, whereby Cosimo had raised himself from insignificance to the dictatorship of Florence, he surpassed his grandfather in the use he made of literary patronage. Through his thorough and enthusiastic participation in the intellectual interests of his age, he put himself into close sympathy with the Florentines, who were glad to acknowledge for their leader the ablest by far of the men of parts in Italy. He possessed one of those rare natures, fitted to comprehend all knowledge and to sympathize with the most diverse forms of life. While he never for one moment relaxed his grasp on politics, among philosophers he passed for a sage, among men of letters for an original and graceful poet, among scholars for a Grecian sensitive to every nicety of Attic idiom, among artists for an amateur gifted with refined discernment and consummate taste. Pleasure-seekers knew in him the libertine, who jousted with the boldest, danced and masqueraded with the merriest, sought adventures in the streets at night, and joined the people in their carnival festivities.

The scholars who formed his entourage.

This, then, was the man round whom the greatest scholars assembled, at whose table sat Angelo Poliziano, Cristoforo Landino, Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola,

Leo Battista Alberti, Michael Angelo Buonarroti, Luigi Pulci. The mere enumeration of these names suffices to awake a crowd of memories in the minds of those to whom Italian art and poetry are dear. Lorenzo's villas, where this brilliant circle met for grave discourse or social converse, heightening the sober pleasures of Italian country life with all that wit and learning could produce, have been so often sung by poets and celebrated by historians, that Careggi, Caffagiolo, and Poggio a Cajano, are no less familiar to us than the studious shades of Academe.

Ficino.

To speak first of Ficino. When he was a youth of eighteen he entered the Medicean household, and began to learn Greek in order that he might qualify himself for translating Plato into Latin. His health was delicate, his sensibilities acute; the temper of his intellect, inclined to mysticism and theology, fitted him for the arduous task of unifying religion with philosophy. It would be unfair to class him with the paganizing humanists, who sought to justify their unbelief or want of morals by the authority of the classics. Ficino remained throughout his life an earnest Christian. At the age of forty, not without serious reflection and mature resolve, he took orders, and faithfully performed the duties of his cure. He was forty-four years of age when he finished the translation of Plato's works into Latin. This was followed by a life of the philosopher, and with a treatise on the *Platonic Doctrine of Immortality*. The importance of his other contributions to philosophy consists in the impulse he gave to Platonic studies. That he did not comprehend Plato, or distinguish his philosophy from that of the Alexandrian mystics, is clear in every sentence of his

writings. The age was uncritical, nor had scholars learned the necessity of understanding an author's relation to the history of thought in general before they attempted to explain him.

Pico della Mirandola.

Among those we have mentioned who appeared at Lorenzo's receptions, in 1484, was a young man of princely birth and of striking beauty. "Nature," wrote Poliziano, "seemed to have showered on this man, or hero, all her gifts. He was tall and finely moulded: from his face a something of divinity shone forth. Acute, and gifted with prodigious memory, in his studies he was indefatigable, in his style perspicuous and eloquent. You could not say whether his talents or his moral qualities conferred on him the greater lustre. Familiar with all branches of philosophy, and the master of many languages, he stood on high above the reach of praise." This was Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, whose portrait in the Uffizi Gallery, with its long brown hair and penetrating gray eyes, compels attention even from those who know not whom it is supposed to represent. He was little more than twenty when he came to Florence. His personal attractions, noble manners, splendid style of life, and varied accomplishments made him the idol of Florentine society; and for a time he gave himself, in part at least, to love and the amusements of his age.

The dignity of his life.

But Pico was not born for pleasure. By no man was the sublime ideal of humanity, superior to physical enjoyments and dignified by intellectual energy—that triumph of the thought of the Renaissance—more completely realized. There is even reason to regret that, together with the follies of youth, he put aside the collection of his Latin

poems which Poliziano praised, and took no pains to preserve those Italian verses, the loss whereof we deplore no less than those of Lionardo da Vinci. While he continued to live as became a Count of Mirandola, he personally inclined each year to graver and more abstruse studies and to greater austerity, until at last the prince was merged in the philosopher, the man of letters in the mystic.

Pico's abilities displayed themselves in earliest boyhood. His mother, a niece of the great Boiardo, noticed his rare aptitude for study, and sent him at the age of fourteen to Bologna. There he mastered not only the humanities, but also what was taught of mathematics, logic, philosophy and Oriental languages. He afterwards continued his education at Paris, the headquarters of scholastic theology. His powerful memory must have served him in good stead; it is recorded that a single reading fixed the language and the matter of what he studied on his mind forever. Nor was this faculty for retaining knowledge accompanied by any sluggishness of mental power. To what extent he relied on his powers of debate, as well as on his vast stores of erudition, was proved by the publication of the famous nine hundred theses at Rome in 1486. These questions seem to have been constructed in defence of the Platonic mysticism which had already begun to absorb his attention.

His learning and piety.

The philosophers and theologians who were challenged to contend with him in argument had the whole list offered to their choice. Pico was prepared to maintain each and all of his positions without further preparation. Ecclesiastical prudence, however, prevented the champions of orthodoxy from descending

into the arena. They found it safer to prefer a charge of heresy against him, and his theses were condemned in a brief of Innocent VIII., dated August 3, 1486. It was not until June 18, 1493, that he was finally purged from the ban of heterodoxy by a brief of Alexander VI. During that long interval he suffered much uneasiness of mind, for even his robust intelligence quailed before the thought of dying under papal interdiction. That a man so pure in his life and so earnest in his piety should have been stigmatized as a heretic, and then pardoned, by two such Popes, is one of the curious anomalies of that age.

His conception of the unity of knowledge.

To harmonize the Christian and classical tradition was a problem that Manetti, as we have seen, had crudely attempted. Pico approached it in a more philosophical spirit, and resolved to devote his whole life to the task. Yet he was not intent so much on merely reconciling hostile systems of thought, or on confuting the errors of the Jews and Gentiles. He had conceived the great idea of the unity of knowledge; and having acquired the *omne scibile* of his century, he sought to seize the soul of truth that animates all systems.

The exposition of his theory interrupted by death..

Chance brought him at this time into contact with a Jew who had a copy of the *Cabbala* for sale. Into this jungle of abstruse learning Pico plunged with all the ardor of his powerful intellect. Asiatic fancies, Alexandrian myths, Christian doctrines, Hebrew traditions, are so wonderfully blended in that labyrinthine commentary that Pico believed he had discovered the key to his great problem, the quintessence of all truth. It seemed to him that the science of the Greek and the faith of the

Christian could only be understood in the light of the *Cabbala*. Death, however, overtook him before the book intended to demonstrate this discovery could be written. He died at the age of thirty-one, on the day that Charles VIII. made his entry into Florence.

As Pico was the youngest, so was Cristoforo Landino the oldest, member of the Medicean circle. He was born at Florence in 1424, nine years before Ficino, with whom he shared the duties of instructing Lorenzo in his boyhood. He obtained the Chair of Rhetoric and Poetry in 1457, and continued till his death in 1504 to profess Latin literature at Florence. While Ficino and Pico represented the study of philosophy, he devoted himself exclusively to scholarship, annotating Horace and Virgil, and translating Pliny's *Natural Histories*. A marked feature in his professorial labors was the attention he paid to the Italian poets. In 1460 he began to lecture on Petrarch, and in 1481 he published an edition of Dante with voluminous commentaries. Though he is now best known in connection with his Dantesque studies, one of his Latin works, the *Camaldolese Discussions*, will always retain peculiar interest for the student of Florentine humanism. This treatise is composed in imitation of the Ciceronian rather than the Platonic dialogues; the *Tusculans* may be said to have furnished Landino with his model.

Landino.

The distinguished place allotted in this dialogue to Leo Battista Alberti, who is best known as an architect, proves the singular regard in which this most remarkable man was held at Florence, where, however, he but seldom resided. His name will always be coupled with that of Lionardo

Leo Battista Alberti.

da Vinci ; for though Lionardo, arriving at a happier moment, has eclipsed Alberti's fame, yet both of them were cast in the same mould. Alberti, indeed, might serve as the very type of those many-sided, precocious, and comprehensive men of genius who only existed in the age of the Renaissance. Physical strength and dexterity were given to him at birth in measure equal to his mental faculties. His insight into every branch of knowledge seemed intuitive, and his command of the arts was innate. At the age of twenty he composed the comedy of *Philodoxius*, which passed for an antique, and was published by the Aldi as a work of Lepidus Comicus in 1588. Of music, though he had not made it a special study, he was a thorough master, composing melodies that gave delight to scientific judges. He painted pictures, and wrote three books on painting ; practised architecture, and compiled ten books on this subject. Of his paintings, chiefly portraits, nothing remains ; and of his greatness as an architect we shall have more to say.

Scala.

In order to complete the picture of the Florentine circle, we have in the last place to notice two men raised by the Medici from the ranks of the people. "I came to the republic, bare of all things, a mere beggar, of the lowest birth, without money, rank, connections, or kindred. Cosimo, the father of his country, raised me up by receiving me into his family." So wrote Bartolommeo Scala, the miller's son, who lived to be the Chancellor of Florence. The splendor of that office had been considerably diminished since the days when Bruni, Aretino, and Poggio held it ; nor could Scala, as a student, bear comparison with those men. His Latin history of the

first crusade was rather a large than a great work, of which no notice would be taken if Tasso had not used it in the composition of his epic. Honors and riches, however, were accumulated on the Chancellor in such profusion that he grew arrogant, and taunted the great Poliziano with inferiority.

Poliziano.

Angelo Poliziano, whose name has been so often introduced, was born in 1454. This name, so famous in Italian literature, is a Latinized version of his birthplace, Montepulciano. His father, Benedetto Ambrogini, was a man of some consequence, but of small means, who fell a victim to the enmity of private foes among his fellow-citizens, leaving his widow and five young children almost wholly unprovided for. This accounts for the obscurity that long enveloped the history of Poliziano's childhood, and also for the doubts expressed about the surname of his family. At the age of ten he came to study in the University of Florence, where he profited by the teaching of Landino and Ficino. The precocity of his genius displayed itself early in Latin poems and Greek epigrams, and as early as the year 1470 in the commencement of a Latin translation of Homer, which Aretino had attempted.

His remarkable scholarship.

The fame of this great undertaking, which for some unexplained reason did not extend beyond the Fifth Book, attracted universal attention to Poliziano. It is probable that Ficino first introduced him to Lorenzo, who received the young student into his own house and made himself responsible for his future fortunes. Before Poliziano reached the age of thirty, he professed the Greek and Latin literatures in the University of Florence, and received the care of Lorenzo's children. If Lorenzo

represents the statecraft of his age, Poliziano is no less emphatically the representative of its highest achievements in scholarship. He was the first Italian to combine perfect mastery over Latin, and a correct sense of Greek, with a splendid genius for his native literature.

Defects of style.

The spirit of Roman literature lived again in Poliziano. He wrote Latin as if it were a living language, not culling phrases from Cicero or reproducing the periods of Livy but trusting to his instinct and his ear with the confidence of conscious power. Yet it must be conceded he was not careful to purge his style of obsolete words and far-fetched phrases, or to maintain the diction of one period in each composition. His fluency betrayed him into verbiage, and his descriptions are often more diffuse than vigorous. Nor will he bear comparison with some more modern scholars on the point of accuracy. The merit, however, remains to him of having been the most copious and least slavish interpreter of the ancient to the modern world.

His success as a professor.

As a professor, none of the humanists achieved more brilliant successes than Poliziano. Among his pupils could be numbered the chief students of Europe. Not to mention Italians, it will suffice to record the names of Reuchlin, Grocin, Linacre, and the Portuguese Tesiras, who carried each to his own country the culture they had gained in Florence. The first appearance of Poliziano in the lecture-room was not calculated to win admiration. Ill-formed, with eyes that had something of a squint in them, and nose of disproportionate size, he seemed more fit to be a solitary scholar

than the Orpheus of the classic literatures. Yet no sooner had he opened his lips and begun to speak with the exquisite and varied intonations of a singularly beautiful voice, than his listeners were chained to their seats. The ungainliness of the teacher was forgotten; charmed through their ears and their intellect, they eagerly drank in his eloquence, applauding the improvisations wherewith he illustrated the spirit and intentions of his authors, and silently absorbing the vast and well-ordered stores of knowledge he so prodigally scattered.

His regard for Lorenzo de' Medici.

To complete this sketch, without touching upon the vast range of subjects which formed the topic of his lectures and of his publications, we are bound, in illustration of his character, to add that Poliziano was deficient in the noble quality of self-respect. He flattered Lorenzo and begged for presents, in phrases that remind us of Filelfo's prosiest epigrams. That a scholar should vaunt his own achievements and extol his patron to the skies, that he should ask for money and set off his panegyrics against payment, seemed not derogatory to a man of genius in the fifteenth century. At the same time it must be allowed that to overpraise Lorenzo from a scholar's point of view would have been difficult, while the affection that bound the student to his patron was genuine. Poliziano, who watched Lorenzo in his last moments, described the scene of his death in a letter, marked by touching sorrow, addressed to Antiquari; and by the Latin monody which he left unfinished he proved that grief for his dead master could inspire his muse with loftier strains than any expectation of future favors while he lived had done.

The gloomy circumstances of his death.

Two years after Lorenzo's death Poliziano himself died, dishonored and suspected by the *Piagnoni*. Savonarola, as we have seen, had swept away all the festive appliances and the light-hearted indulgences of Lorenzo's holiday reign. Instead of *rispetti* and *ballate*, the refrain of *Miserere* filled the city, and the Dominican's prophecy of blood and ruin drowned with its solemn reverberations the loftier disquisitions of the advocates of knowledge. Poliziano's lament for Lorenzo had, therefore, become one for his own fate: "Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night! So mourns the widowed turtle dove; so mourns the dying swan; so mourns the nightingale." But this at least of grace the gods allowed Poliziano, that he should die in the same year as his friend Pico della Mirandola, a few weeks before the deluge prophesied by Savonarola burst upon Italy.

X.

MEN OF LETTERS AT ROME AND NAPLES.

IN passing from Florence to Rome, we are struck with the fact that neither in letters nor in art had the papal city any real life of her own. Her intellectual enthusiasms were imported; her activity varied with the personal interests of successive Popes. Stimulated by the munificence of one Holy Father, starved by the niggardliness of another; petted and caressed by Nicholas V., watched with jealous mistrust by Paul II.; thrust into the background by Alexander, and brought into the light by Leo—learning was subjected to rude vicissitudes at Rome. Very few of the scholars who shed lustre on the reigns of liberal Pontiffs were Romans, nor did the nobles of the Papal States affect the fame of patrons.

The opening for scholars at Rome.

In spite of these variable conditions, one class of humanists never failed at Rome. During the period of schisms and councils, when Pope and Anti-Pope were waging wordy warfare in the courts of congregated Christendom, it was impossible to dispense with the services of practised writers and accomplished orators. As composers of diplomatic despatches, letters, bulls, and protocols; as disseminators of squibs and invectives; as redactors of state papers; as pleaders, legates, ambas-

sadors; and private secretaries—scholars swarmed around the person of the Pontiff. Men of acute intellect and finished style, who had absorbed the culture of their age, and could by rhetoric enforce what arguments they chose to wield, found, therefore, a good market for their talents at the court of Rome. They soon became a separate and influential class, divided from the nobility by their birth and foreign connections, and from the churchmen by their secular status and avowed impiety, yet mingling in society with both, and trusting to their talents to support their dignity.

The Papal Court imbibes culture from Florence.

It was from Florence that Rome received her intellectual stimulus. The connection began in 1402, when Boniface IX. appointed Poggio to the post of Apostolic Secretary, which he held for fifty years. In 1405, Lionardo Bruni obtained the same office from Innocent VII. The powerful personality of these men, in whom the energies of the humanistic revival were concentrated, impressed the Roman Curia with a stamp it never lost. During the insignificant pontificate of Martin V., while the Curia resided in exile at Florence, the chain which was binding Rome to the city of Italian culture continued to gain strength. The result of all the discords which rent the Church in the first half of the fifteenth century was to Italianize the Papal See; nor did anything contribute to this end more powerfully than the Florentine traditions of three successive Popes—Martin V., Eugenius IV., and Nicholas V.

Eugenius IV.

Eugenius was a Venetian of good family, who inherited considerable wealth from his father. In 1431 he was raised to the Papacy, but

the disturbed state of Rome obliged him to quit the Vatican in mean disguise, and to seek safety by flight from Ostia. He spent the greater portion of his life in Tuscany, as we have seen; and, though he did not share the passion of his age for learning, the patronage which he extended to scholars was substantial and important. Giovanni Aurispa received from him the title of Apostolic Secretary, and was appointed interpreter between the Greeks and Italians at the council of the two Churches. Even the paganizing Aretino was enrolled upon the list of papal secretaries, while Filelfo and Decembrio, who added lustre at this epoch to the court of Milan, were invited by Eugenius with highly flattering promises.

Flavio Biondo.

More closely attached to his court than those who have been mentioned were Maffeo Begio, the poet, and Flavio Biondo, one of the soundest and most conscientious students of the time. Though Biondo had but little Greek, and could boast of no beauty of style, his immense erudition raised him to high rank among Italian scholars. The work he undertook was to illustrate the antiquities of Italy in a series of historical, topographical, and archæological studies. In estimating the value of Biondo's contributions to history, we must remember that he had no previous compilations whereon to base his own researches. His *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, conceived in an age devoted to stylistic niceties, and absorbed by the attractions of renascent Hellenism, inspires our strongest admiration. Yet its author failed in his lifetime to win the distinctions he deserved. Though he held the office of Apostolic Secretary under four Popes, his marriage stopped the

way to ecclesiastical preferment. Eugenius could appreciate a man of his stamp better than Nicholas V., whose special tastes inclined to elegant humanism rather than to ponderous erudition.

Nicholas V.

The lives of all the humanists illustrate the honors and the wealth secured by learning for her votaries in the Renaissance. No example, however, is so striking as that furnished by the biography of Nicholas V., of whose measures to add to the power and beauty of Rome we have already spoken. Tommaso Parentucelli was born at Pisa in 1398. While he was still an infant, his parents, in spite of their poverty and humble station, which might have been expected to shield them from political tyranny, were exiled to Sarzana; and at the age of nine he lost his father at that place.

His education and early life.

The young Tommaso found means to go to the University of Bologna, and after six years' residence his destitute means led him to seek work in Florence. He must already have acquired some reputation, since Rinaldo degli Albizzi received him as house-tutor to his children for one year, at the expiration of which time he entered the service of Palla degli Strozzi in a similar capacity. The money thus obtained enabled him to return to Bologna, and to take his degree as Doctor of Theology at the age of twenty-two. He was now fully launched in life. The education he had received at Bologna qualified him for office in the Church, while his two years' residence in Florence had rendered him familiar with men of polite learning and of gentle breeding. Niccolo degli Albergati, Archbishop of Bologna, became his patron, and appointed him controller of his household.

Albergati was one of the cardinals of Eugenius IV., a man of considerably capacity, and alive to the intellectual interests of his age. When he followed the papal court to Florence, Tommaso attended him; and here began the period which was destined to influence his subsequent career. He soon became familiar with Cosimo de' Medici, and no meetings of the learned were complete without him.

His rapid rise to the Papacy.

Soon after the death of Albergati in 1443, Eugenius promoted him to the See of Bologna; a cardinal's hat followed within a few months; and in 1447 he was elected Pope of Rome. So sudden an elevation from obscurity and poverty to the highest place in Christendom has rarely happened; nor is it easy even now to understand what combinations of unsuccessful intrigues among the princes of the Church enabled this little, ugly, bright-eyed, restless-minded scholar to creep into S. Peter's seat.

The satisfaction given to scholars.

The rejoicings with which the humanists hailed the elevation of one of their own number to the papal throne may be readily imagined; nor were their golden expectations, founded on a previous knowledge of his liberality in all things that pertained to learning, destined to be disappointed. The most permanent benefit conferred by Nicholas V. on Roman studies was the foundation of the Vatican library, on which he spent about 40,000 scudi, forming a collection of some 5,000 volumes.

His liberal treatment of them.

The profuse liberality of Nicholas towards the scholars whom he employed in translating Greek works into Latin brought him into relation with the whole learned world of Italy. Among the humanists who resided in his court at

Rome, mention must be made of Lorenzo Valla, who was appointed Apostolic Scriptor in 1447, and opened a school of eloquence in 1450; and of Piero Candido Decembrio, who also was employed; but about whom we shall hear more in connection with scholarship at Naples and Milan. Our attention must now be turned to a man who, even more than Nicholas himself, might claim the right to give his own name to this age of learning.

Poggio.

Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini is better known in the annals of literature as Poggio Fiorentino, though he was not made a burgher of Florence until late in life. Born in 1380 at Terranova, a village of the Florentine *contado*, he owed his education to Florence. During his youth he supported himself by copying MSS. for the Florentine market. Coluccio Salutati and Niccolò de Niccoli befriended the young student, who entered as early as the year 1402 or 1403 into the Papal Chancery. Though Poggio's life for the following half century was spent in the service of the Roman Curia, he refused to take orders in the Church, and remained at heart a humanist. His duties and his tastes alike made him a frequent traveller, and not the least of the benefits conferred by him upon posterity are his pictures of foreign manners.

His great ability and learning.

In literature he embraced the whole range of contemporary studies, making his mark as a public orator, a writer of rhetorical treatises and dialogues, a panegyrist of the dead, a violent impeacher and impugner of the living, a translator from the Greek, an elegant epistolographer, a grave historian, and a facetious compiler of

anecdotes and epigrams. He possessed a style at once easy and pointed, correct in diction, and varied in cadence, equally adapted for serious discourse and witty trifling, and not less formidable in abuse than delicate in flattery. His controversial writings passed for models of distinctive eloquence, his satires on the clergy for masterpieces of sarcastic humor, his Florentine History for a supreme achievement in the noblest Latin manner. Yet the whole of this miscellaneous literature seems coarse and ineffective to the modern taste. We read it, not without repugnance, in order to obtain an insight into the spirit of the author's age.

The power of his invective.

Poggio, next to Filelfo, was the most formidable gladiator in that age of literary duellists. "In his invectives he displayed such vehemence," writes Vespasiano, "that the whole world was afraid of him." Even Alfonso of Naples found it prudent to avert his anger by a bribe; and the overtures made to him by Filippo Maria Visconti, with the consideration he received from Cosimo de' Medici, testified to the desire of princes for the goodwill of a spiteful and unscrupulous pamphleteer. His quarrel with Filelfo, which was more personal than literary, extended over many years; when, having heaped upon each other all the insults it is possible for the most corrupt imagination to conceive, they joined hands and rested from the contest. The *History of the Florentine Republic*, written in continuation of Lionardo Aretino's, occupied the closing years of his life. He left it still unfinished in the year 1459, when he died and was buried in the church of Santa Croce.

Cardinal Bessarion.

Any survey of the court of Nicholas V. would be incomplete without some notice of the Cardinal Bessarion. Early in life he rose to high station in the Greek Church, and attended the Council of Florence as Archbishop of Nicea. Eugenius IV., by making him a cardinal in 1439, converted him to the Latin faith; and, as it so happened, he missed the Papacy almost by an accident thirty-two years later. His palace at Rome became the meeting-place of scholars of all nations, where refugee Greeks in particular were sure of finding hearty welcome.

The fortunes of scholarship follow the character of successive Popes.

The fortunes of Roman scholarship kept varying with the personal tastes of each successive Pope. Calixtus III. differed wholly from his predecessor, Nicholas V. Learned in theology and mediæval science, he was dead to the interests of humanistic literature. Vespasiano assures us that, when he entered the Vatican Library and saw its Greek and Latin authors in their red and silver bindings, instead of praising the munificence of Nicholas, he exclaimed: "Behold whereon he spent the substance of the Church of God!" Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, on the other hand, ranked high among the humanists. As an orator, courtier, state secretary, and man of letters, he shared the general qualities of the class to which he belonged. While a fellow-student of Beccadelli at Siena, he freely enjoyed the pleasures of youth, and thought it no harm to compose novels in the style of Longus and Achilles Tatius. These stories, together with his familiar letters, histories, cosmographical treatises, rhetorical disquisitions, apophthegms, and

commentaries, written in a fluent and picturesque Latin style, distinguished him for wit and talent from the merely laborious students of his age. A change, however, came over him when he assumed the tiara with the title of Pius II. Learning in Italy owed but little to his patronage, and, though he strengthened the position of the humanists at Rome by founding the College of Abbreviators, he was more eager to defend Christendom against the Turk than to make his See the capital of culture. Paul II. was chiefly famous for his persecution of the Roman Platonists, as we have already noticed; and Sixtus IV., though he deserves to be remembered as the Pontiff who opened the Vatican Library to the public, plays no prominent part in the history of scholarship. Of Innocent VIII. nothing need be said; nor will any student of history expect to find it recorded that Alexander VI. wasted money on the patronage of learning.

The academy of Julius Pomponius Lætus.

Under these Popes humanism had to flourish, as best it could, in the society of private individuals. Accordingly, we find the Roman scholars forming among themselves academies and learned circles. Of these the most eminent took its name from its founder, Julius Pomponius Lætus. He was a bastard of the princely house of the Sanseverini, to whom, when he became famous and they were anxious for his friendship, he penned the celebrated epistle: "Pomponius Lætus to his kinsmen and relatives, greeting. What you ask cannot be. Farewell." Pomponius derived his scholarship from Valla, and devoted all his energies to Latin literature; refusing, it is even said, to learn Greek, lest it should distract him from his favorite studies. Men

praised in him a second Cato for sobriety of conduct, frugal diet, and rural industry. The grand mansions of the prelates had no attractions for him. He preferred his own modest house upon the Esquiline, his garden on the Quirinal. His celebrity was chiefly acquired by his forming an academy for the avowed purpose of prosecuting the study of Latin antiquities, and promoting the adoption of antique customs into modern life. It is only from the language in which its members refer to Lætus that we gain a due notion of his influence; for he left but little behind him as an author. He lived on into the papacy of Alexander, and died in 1498 at the age of seventy. His corpse was crowned with a laurel wreath in the church of Araceli, and buried in S. Salvator in Lauro.

The position of scholars at Naples.

In passing down to Naples, we find a marked change in the external conditions under which literature flourished. Men of learning at the courts of Italy occupied a position different from that of their brethren in the Papal Chancery. They had to suit their habits to the customs of the court and camp, to place their talents at the service of their patron's pleasure, to entertain him in his hours of idleness, to frame compliments and panegyrics, and to repay his bounty by the celebration of his deeds in histories and poems. Their footing was less official, more subject to the temper and caprices of the reigning sovereign, than at Rome; while the peculiar advantages, both political and social, which, even under the sway of the Medicean family, made Florence a real republic of letters, existed in no other town in Italy.

Each of the dynasties which held the throne of the Two Sicilies could boast a patron of literature. Robert of Anjou was proud to call himself the friend of Petrarch, and Boccaccio found the flame of inspiration at his court. After making all deductions for the flattery of official historiographers, it is clear that Alfonso of Aragon found his most enduring satisfaction in the company of students, listening to their debates on points of scholarship, attending their public lectures, employing them in the perusal of ancient poets and historians, insisting on their presence in his camp, and freely supplying them with money for the purchase of books, and for their maintenance while engaged in works of erudition.

The encouragement given by Alfonso.

Among the humanists who stood nearest to the person of this monarch, Antonio Beccadelli, called from his birthplace Il Panormita, deserves the first place. Born at Palermo in 1394, he received his education at Siena, where he was a fellow-student with Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pius II. The city of Siena was notorious throughout Italy for luxury of living. Here, therefore, it may be presumed that Beccadelli in his youth enjoyed the experiences which he afterwards celebrated in *Hermaphroditus*. Nothing is more striking in that amazing collection of elegies than the frankness of their author, the free and liberal delight with which he dwells on shameless sensualities, and the pride with which he publishes his own name to the world. Dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici, welcomed with applause by the gray-headed Guarino da Verona, extolled to the skies by Antonio Losco, eagerly sought

Beccadelli.

after by Bartolommeo, Bishop of Milan,—this book, which Strato and Martial might have blushed to own, passed from copyist to copyist, from hand to hand. When the Emperor Sigismund crowned Beccadelli poet at Siena in 1433, he only added the weight of Imperial approval to the verdict of the lettered public.

The Church could not, however, tolerate the scandal.

Becomes notorious, rich, and respected.

The Minorite friars denounced the *Hermaphroditus* from their pulpits and burned it, together with portraits of the poet, on the public squares of Bologna, Milan, and Ferrara. Eugenius IV. proscribed the reading of it under penalty of excommunication. Yet all this made little difference to Beccadelli's reputation. He lectured with honor at Bologna and Pavia, received a stipend from the Visconti, and in 1435 was summoned to the court of Naples. Alfonso raised him to the rank of noble, and continually employed him near his person, enjoying his wit and taking special delight in his readings of classic authors. As official historiographer, Beccadelli committed to writing the memorable deeds and sayings of his royal master. As ambassador and orator, he represented the king at foreign courts. As tutor to the Crown Prince, Ferdinand, he prepared a sovereign for the state of Naples. This favor lasted till the year 1471, when he died, old, rich, and respected, in his lovely villa by the Bay of Naples. A more signal instance of the value attached in this age to pure scholarship, irrespective of moral considerations, cannot be adduced.

Valla.

Yet the position of Lorenzo Valla, at the same court, is even more remarkable. While Beccadelli urged the levity of youth in extenuation of

his heathenism, and spoke with late regret of his past follies, Valla showed the steady front of a deliberate critic, hostile at all points to the traditions and the morals of the Church. The parents of this remarkable man were natives of Piacenza, though, having probably been born at Rome, he assumed to himself the attribute of Roman. At the age of twenty-four he tried to get the post of Apostolic Secretary, but without success. In 1431 we hear of him at Pavia, and at this period he became the supreme authority on points of Latin style in Italy by the publication of his *Elegantiæ*. True to his own genius, Valla displayed in this masterly treatise the qualities that gave him a place among the scholars of his day.

When Alfonso invited Valla to Naples in 1437, giving him the post of private secretary, together with the poet's crown, he must have known the nature of the man who was to play so prominent a part in the history of free thought. It is not improbable that the feud between the house of Aragon and the Papal See, which arose from Alfonso's imperfect title to the throne of Naples, and was embittered by the intrigues of the Church, disposed the king to look with favor on the uncompromising antagonist of Papacy. At all events, Valla's treatise on *Constantine's Donation*, which appeared in 1440, assumed the character of a political pamphlet. The exordium contained fierce personal abuse of Eugenius IV. and Cardinal Vitelleschi. The body of the tract destroyed the fabric of lies which had imposed upon the Christian world for centuries. The peroration ended with a menace. Worse chastisement was in store for a worldly and simoniacal priesthood, if the

His attacks on the Papacy.

Popes refused to forego their usurped temporalities, and to confess the shame that criticism had unmasked. War to the death was thus declared between Valla and Rome. The storm his treatise excited raged at first so wildly that Valla thought it prudent to take flight. He crossed the sea to Barcelona, and remained there a short while, until, being assured of Alfonso's protection, he once more returned to Naples. From beneath the shield of his royal patron he now continued to shoot arrow after arrow at his enemies, affirming that the letter of Christ to Abgarus, reported by Eusebius, was a palpable forgery; exposing the bad Latin style of the Vulgate; accusing S. Augustine of heresy on the subject of predestination, and denying the authority of the Apostles' Creed.

He yields nothing to outcry.

The friars, whom Valla attacked with frigid scorn, and whose empire over the minds of men he was engaged in undermining, could not be expected to leave him quiet. Sermons from all the pulpits of Italy were launched at the heretic and heathen; the people were taught to loathe him as a monster of iniquity; and, finally, a Court of Inquisition was opened, at the bar of which he was summoned to attend. To the interrogatories of the inquisitors Valla replied that "he believed as Mother Church believed: it was quite true that she *knew* nothing; yet he believed as she believed." That was all they could extract from the disdainful scholar, who, after openly defying them, walked away to the king and besought him to suspend the sitting of the court. Alfonso told the monks that they must leave his secretary alone, and the process was dropped.

On the death of Eugenius, Nicholas V. summoned Valla to Rome, not to answer for his heresies and insults at the papal bar, but to receive the post of Apostolic Writer, with magnificent appointments. The entry of Valla into the Roman Curia, though marked by no external ceremony, was the triumph of humanism over orthodoxy and tradition. We need not suppose that Nicholas was seeking to bribe a dangerous antagonist to silence. He simply wanted to attach an illustrious scholar to his court, and to engage him in the task of translating from the Greek. To heresy and scepticism he showed the indifference of a tolerant and enlightened spirit. With the friars he had nothing whatever in common. The attitude assumed by Nicholas on this occasion illustrates the benefit which learning in the Renaissance derived from the worldliness of the Papacy. It was not until the schism of the Teutonic Churches, and the intrusion of the Spaniards into Italy, that the court of Rome consistently adopted a policy of persecution and repression. The rest of Valla's biography is taken up with his quarrels with Poggio and other men of mark. He died in 1457.

Called by Nicholas to Rome.

While the academy of Pomponius Lætus flourished at Rome, that of Naples was no less active under the presidency of Jovianus Pontanus. When death had broken up the brilliant circle surrounding Alfonso the Magnanimous, Pontanus assumed the leadership of learned men in Naples, and gave the formality of a club to what had previously been a mere reunion of cultivated scholars. Born in 1426, he settled there in his early manhood, and Beccadelli introduced him to his

The academy of Jovianus Pontanus.

royal patrons. During the reigns of Ferdinand I., Alfonso II., and Ferdinand II., Pontanus held the post of secretary, tutor, and ambassador, accompanying his masters on their military expeditions and negotiating their affairs at the Papal court. When Charles VIII. entered Naples as a conqueror, Pontanus greeted him with a panegyrical oration, proving himself more courtly than loyal to the princes he served. Throughout his writings he shows himself to have been an original and vigorous thinker, a complete master of Latin scholarship, unwilling to abide contented with bare imitation, and bent upon expressing the facts of modern life, the actualities of personal emotion, in a style that might compete with good models of antiquity. His amatory elegiacs have an exuberance of coloring and sensuous force of phrase that seem peculiarly appropriate to the Bay of Naples where they were inspired. He died in 1503.

XI.

MILAN, MANTUA, AND FERRARA.

OWING to the marked diversity exhibited by the different States of Italy, the forms assumed by art and literature are never exactly the same in any two cities. If the natives of the Two Sicilies were not themselves addicted to serve scholarship, the lighter kinds of writing flourished there abundantly, and Naples gave her own peculiar character to literature. This was not the case with Milan. Yet Milan, during the reigns of the last Visconti and the first Sforza, claims attention, owing to the accident of Filelfo's residence at the ducal court. Filippo Maria Visconti was, as we have seen, one of the most repulsive tyrants who have ever disgraced a civilized country. Shut up within his palace walls among astrologers, minions, and monks, carefully protected from the public eye, and watched by double sets of mutually suspicious body-guards, it was impossible that he should extend the free encouragement to learned men which we admire at Naples. The history of humanism at Milan has, therefore, less to do with the city or the ducal circle than with the private labors of students allured to Lombardy by the promise or expectancy of high pay.

Piero Candido Decembrio began life as Filippo Maria's secretary. To his vigorous pen the student of Italian history owes the mi- **Decembrio.**

nutest and most vivid sketch now extant of the habits and the vices of a tyrant. This remains the best title of Decembrio to recollection, though his works, original and translated, if we may trust his epitaph in S. Ambrozio, amounted to 127 books when he died in 1447.

Filelfo.

Francesco Filelfo was born in 1398 at Tolentino in the March of Ancona. He studied grammar, rhetoric, and Latin literature at Padua, where he was appointed professor at the early age of eighteen. In 1417 he received an invitation to teach eloquence and moral philosophy at Venice. Here he remained two years, deriving much advantage from the society of Guarino da Verona, and Vittorino da Feltre, and forming useful connections with the Venetian nobility. After being admitted citizen of Venice by public decree he was appointed secretary to the Baily (*Bailo*, or Consul-General) of Constantinople. There he put himself at once under the tuition of John Chrysoloras, the brother of Manuel, whose influence at the Imperial court brought Filelfo into favor with John Palæologus. The young Italian student, having speedily acquired familiarity with the Greek tongue, received the titles of Secretary and Counsellor, and executed some important diplomatic missions for his Imperial master.

His great acquirements.

After his marriage to Theodora, the daughter of his tutor Chrysoloras, Filelfo received an offer of the Chair of Eloquence at Venice, and landed there with his wife and infant son in 1427. The object of his journey to Constantinople had been fully attained. After an absence of seven and a half years, he returned to his native country with Greek learning, increased reputation, and a large supply of Greek

books. His proud boast, frequently repeated in after-life, that no man living but himself had mastered the whole literature of the ancients in both languages, that no one else could wield the prose of Cicero, the verse of Horace and of Virgil, and the Greek of Homer and of Xenophon with equal versatility, was not altogether an empty vaunt. Taken at their lowest valuation, the claims of Filelfo, well founded in fact, mark him out as the most universal scholar of his age.

His reception at Venice by no means corresponded to the promises by which he had been tempted, or to the value which he set on his own services. The plague was in the city; the nobles had taken flight to their country houses, and there was no one to attend his lectures. He therefore very readily accepted an offer sent him from Bologna, and early in the year 1428 we find him settled in that city as professor of eloquence and moral philosophy. He was not destined to remain there long, however, for the disturbed state of the town rendered teaching impossible; and when flattering proposals arrived from the Florentines, he set off in haste and transferred his family across the Apennines. **Successive engagements.**

They were halcyon days for Filelfo during his early residence in Florence, while he was still enjoying the friendship of learned men, receiving new engagements from the university, and when he had not yet won the hatred of the Medicean faction. But he was soon involved in feud with the Florentine scholars. His arrogance, the meanness of his private life, and his imprudence in public, were so great, that even the men who invited him became his bitter foes. Niccol de' Niccoli, always jealous of **His feuds at Florence.**

superiority and apt to take offence, was the first with whom he quarrelled; then followed Carlo Aretino and Ambrozio Traversari; until at last the whole of the Medicean party were inflamed against him. Filelfo, on his side, spared neither satires nor slanders; and when the political crisis, which for a time depressed the Medicean faction, was impending, he declared himself the public opponent of Cosimo.

He retires to Siena.

Already in the spring of 1433 he had been stabbed in the face, while walking to the university one morning, by a hired bravo; and when he accepted an invitation from Antonio Petrucci to lecture for two years at Siena he hired a Greek to retaliate upon his foes in Florence. It seems incredible that even the foulness of Poggio's invectives, and the fury of Filelfo's satires, should account for the intervention of assassins. However, the most honorable invitations now began to shower upon him. The Council of Basle, the Venetian Senate, the Emperor of the East, Eugenius IV., the Universities of Perugia and Bologna, and the Duke of Milan, applied for his services.

His life at Milan.

He closed first with the offers of the Senate of Bologna, but after a sojourn there of only a few months he transferred himself to Milan, where he had a flattering reception, in 1440, from Filippo Maria Visconti. We find him, during his residence at Milan, continually engaged in the exercise of rhetoric and in various literary work. He had the misfortune at this time to lose his wife Theodora, to whom he was much attached, but he soon married again. During the disasters that befell the State of Milan on the death of Filippo Maria, Filelfo at first espoused the cause of the

burghers, but was soon afterwards content to accept the patronage of Francesco Sforza. His avarice, and the literary scurrility by which he sought to profit, had become a distinguishing trait in his character.

But, by fair means or by foul, Filelfo had managed to secure a splendid reputation throughout Italy. His journey to Naples in 1453 resembled a triumphal progress. Nicholas V. entertained him with distinction; Alfonso dubbed him knight, and placed the poet's laurel on his brow with his own hands. As he passed through their capitals, the princes received him like an equal. At Ferrara he enjoyed the hospitalities of Duke Borso, at Mantua the friendship of the Marchese Lodovico Gonzaga; the terrible Gismondo Pandolfo Malatesta welcomed him in Rimini, and the General Jacopo Piccinino in his camp at Fossombrone.

The honor shown him at various courts.

Until the death of Francesco Sforza, Milan continued to be the city of Filelfo's choice. After that event he turned his thoughts to Rome. Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV. in succession had testified their regard for him. At last, in 1474, he had the offer of a professorial chair from the last-named Pope, and the promise of the first vacant post in the Apostolic Chancery. Again the old man of seventy-seven years crossed the Apennines, and began his lectures in Rome. The vigorous old scholar at first felt that all his previous life had been a tedious prologue to this blissful play. The usual clouds, however, soon appeared: quarrels with the Pope's treasurer and with the Pope himself, with the usual accompaniment of fierce invectives and scathing letters, leading to his return to Milan in 1476, to find his third

His ill success at Rome, and return to Milan.

wife dead of the plague, and buried on the eve of his arrival.

His career ends at Florence.

Filelfo's last journey was undertaken in 1481. Ill at ease and sore of heart, the veteran of scholarship still longed for further triumphs. All his wishes for some time past had been set on ending his days at Florence, near the person of Lorenzo de' Medici; and when an invitation to the Chair of Greek Literature arrived, it found him eager to set forth. He just managed to reach Florence, where he died of dysentery, a fortnight after his arrival, at the age of eighty-three. The Florentines buried him in the church of the Annunziata.

Vittorino da Feltre.

Some notice should be given to Vittorino da Feltre, who has been mentioned as having been engaged in educating the sons of the Marquis of Mantua. His father's name was Bruto de' Rambaldoni; but, having been born at Feltre in the year 1378 he took from his birthplace the surname by which he is best known. His early studies were carried on at Padua, from which town he appears to have moved about the year 1417 to Venice; and, having learnt Greek there, he returned to his old university as professor of rhetoric. We find that, as soon as he was settled again in Padua, he opened a school for a fixed number of young men, selected without regard to rank or wealth. Becoming dissatisfied with this, he moved a second time to Venice in 1423, where he continued his work as a private tutor. By this time he had acquired considerable reputation as an educator, and the Marquis of Mantua, Gian Francesco Gonzaga, being in want of a master for his children, the choice fell on Vittorino. His mode of education had much of the modern char-

acter, combining athletics with study. He lived to a hale and hearty old age; and when he died, in 1446, it was found that the illustrious scholar, after enjoying for so many years the liberality of his princely patron, had not accumulated enough money to pay for his own funeral. Whatever he possessed he spent in charity during his lifetime. Few lives of which there is any record in history are so perfectly praiseworthy as Vittorino da Feltre's; few men have more nobly realized the idea of living for the highest objects of their age; few have succeeded in keeping themselves so wholly unspotted by the vices of the world around them.

The patronage extended at Florence.

By the patronage extended to Vittorino da Feltre, the court of Mantua took rank among the high schools of humanism in Italy. Ferrara won a similar distinction through the liberality of the house of Estes; but, though the arts and letters flourished with exceeding brilliance beneath the patrons of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, they were but accessories to a splendid and voluptuous court life.

Guarino da Verona.

The golden age of culture at Ferrara began in 1402, when Niccolo III. reopened the university. Twenty-seven years later Guarino da Verona made it one of the five chief seats of southern learning. The life of this eminent scholar resembles in many points that of Filelfo, though their characters were very different. Guarino was born of respectable parents at Verona in 1370. He studied Latin in the school of Giovanni da Ravenna, and, while still a lad of eighteen, travelled to Constantinople, at the cost of a noble Venetian, Paolo Zane, in order to learn Greek. After an absence of five years he returned to Venice, and began to lecture to crowded audiences.

Like all humanists, at that time, he seems to have preferred temporary to permanent engagements—passing from Venice to Verona, from Trent to Padua, from Bologna to Florence, and everywhere acquiring that substantial reputation as a teacher to which he owed the invitation of Niccolo d'Este in 1429.

His life at Ferrara.

He was now a man of nearly sixty, the master of the two languages, and well acquainted with the method of instruction. The Marquis of Ferrara engaged him as tutor to his illegitimate son Lionello, heir apparent to his throne. For seven years Guarino devoted himself wholly to the education of this youth, who passed for one of the best scholars of his age. Amid the pleasure of the chase, to which he was passionately devoted, and the distractions of the gayest court in Italy, the young prince found time to correspond on topics of scholarship with Poggio, Filelfo, Decembrio, and Francesco Barbaro. His conversation turned habitually upon the fashionable themes of antique ethics, and his favorite companions were men of polite education. It is no wonder that the humanists, who saw in him a future Augustus, deplored his early death with unfeigned sorrow. The profile portrait of Lionello, in our National Gallery, may possibly do him some injustice.

His well-deserved reputation.

Guarino, like his friend Vittorino da Feltre, was celebrated for his method of teaching, and for the exact order of his discipline. Students flocked from all the cities of Italy to his lecture room; for, as soon as his tutorial engagements with the prince permitted, he received a public appointment as professor of eloquence. In this post he labored for many years, maintaining his

reputation as a student, and filling the universities of Italy with his pupils. He was one of the few humanists whose moral character won equal respect with his learning. When he died at the age of ninety, the father of six boys and seven girls by his wife Taddea Cendrata of Verona, it was possible to say with truth that he had realized the ideal of a temperate scholar's life.

Aurispa.

The name of Giovanni Aurispa must not be omitted in connection with Ferrara. Born in 1369 at Noto in Sicily, he lived to a great age, dying in 1459. He, too, travelled in early youth to Constantinople, and returned, laden with manuscripts and learning, to profess the humanities in Italy. His life forms, therefore, a close parallel with that of both Guarino and Filelfo. Aurispa, however, was gifted with a less unresting temper than Filelfo; nor did he achieve the same professional success as Guarino. In his school at Ferrara he enjoyed the calmer pleasures of a student's life, "devoted," as Filelfo phrased it, "to the plac'd Muses."

Vespasiano.

To give an account of all the minor courts, where humanism flourished under the patronage of petty princes, would be tedious and unprofitable. It is enough to notice that the universities, in this age of indefatigable energy, kept forming scholars eager to make their way as secretaries and tutors, while the nobles competed for the honor and the profit to be derived from the service of illustrious wits and ready pens. The seeds of classic culture were thus sown in every little city that could boast its castle. But of the men thus trained, it would be an ungenerous omission to conclude without recording the name of Vespasiano da Bisticci, from whose *Lives of*

Illustrious Men we have had so frequent occasion to quote. Peculiar interest attaches to him as the last of mediæval scribes, and at the same time the first of modern booksellers. Besides being the agent of Cosimo de Medici, Nicholas V., and Frederick of Urbino, Vespasiano supplied the foreign markets, sending manuscripts by order to Hungary, Portugal, Germany, and England. The extent of his trade rendered him the largest employer of copyists in Europe, at the moment when this industry was about to be superseded, and when scholars were already inquiring for news about the art that saved expense and shortened the labor of the student. Born in 1421 at Florence, he lived till 1498; so that, after having helped to form the three greatest collections of manuscripts in Italy, he witnessed the triumph of printing, and might have even handled the *Museus* issued from the Aldine press in 1493. Vespasiano was no mere tradesman. His knowledge of the books he sold was accurate; continual study enabled him to overlook the copyists, and to vouch for the exactitude of their transcripts. At the same time, his occupation brought him into close intimacy with the chief scholars of the age, so that the new culture reached him by conversation and familiar correspondence. As a biographer he possessed rare merit. Personally acquainted with the men of whom he wrote, he drew their characters with praiseworthy succinctness and simplicity. The qualities he loves to celebrate are piety, chastity, generosity, devotion to the cause of liberal culture, and high-souled patriotism. It is pleasant thus to conclude with the character of a man so blameless in his life, so charitable in his judgments, and so trustworthy in his record of contemporary history.

XII.

THE FINE ARTS.

IT has been granted only to two nations, the Greeks and the Italians, and to the latter only at the time of the Renaissance, to invest every place and variety of intellectual energy with the form of art. Nothing notable was produced in Italy between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries that did not bear the stamp and character of fine art. If the methods of science may be truly said to regulate our modes of thinking at the present time, it is no less true that, during the Renaissance, art exercised a like controlling influence. Not only was each department of the fine arts practised with singular success; not only was the national genius to a very large extent absorbed by painting, sculpture, and architecture; but the æsthetic impulse was more subtly and widely diffused than this alone would imply.

The Italian character exemplified in their art products.

As we travel through Italy at the present day, when "time, war, pillage, and purchase" have done their worst to denude the country of its treasures, we still marvel at the incomparable and countless beauties stored in every burgh and hamlet. Pacing the picture galleries of Northern Europe, the country seats of English nobles, and the palaces of Spain, the same reflection is still

forced upon us: how could Italy have done what she achieved within so short a space of time? What must the houses and the churches once have been from which these spoils were taken, but which still remain so rich in masterpieces? Psychologically to explain this universal capacity for the fine arts in the nation at this epoch is perhaps impossible. Yet the fact remains that he who would comprehend the Italians of the Renaissance must study their art, and cling fast to that Ariadne-thread throughout the labyrinthine windings of national character. He must learn to recognize that herein lay the sources of their intellectual strength as well as the secret of their intellectual weakness.

Architecture varying with the locality.

Architecture is always the first of the fine arts to emerge from barbarism in the service of religion and of civic life. In no way is the characteristic diversity of the Italian communities so noticeable as in their buildings. Each district, each town, has a well-defined peculiarity, reflecting the specific qualities of the inhabitants, and the conditions under which they grew in culture. Thus the name of the Lombards has been given to a style of Romanesque which prevailed through Northern and Central Italy during the period of Lombard ascendency. The Tuscans never forgot the domes of their remote ancestors; the Romans adhered closely to Latin traditions; the Southerners were affected by Byzantine and Saracenic models. In many instances the geology of the neighborhood determined the picturesque features of its architecture. The clay-fields of the valley of the Po produced the brick-work of Cremona, Pavia, Crema, Chiaravalle, and Vercelli. To their quarries of

mandorlato the Veronese builders owed the peach-bloom tints of their columned aisles. Carrara provided the Pisans with mellow marble for their cathedral and baptistery; Monte Ferrato supplied Pistoja and Prato with green serpentine; while the *pietra serena* of the Apennines added austerity to the interior of Florentine buildings. In other instances we detect the influence of commerce or of conquest. The intercourse of Venice with Alexandria determined the unique architecture of S. Mark's. The Arabs and the Normans left ineffaceable traces of their sojourn on Palermo. Naples and Messina still bear marks upon their churches of French workmen. All along the coasts we here and there find evidences of Oriental style imported into mediæval Italy, while the impress of the Spaniard is no less manifest in edifices of a later period.

The Romanesque style.

If Lombard architecture, properly so called, was partial in its influence and confined to a comparatively narrow local sphere, the same is true of the Tuscan Romanesque. The church of San Miniato, overlooking Florence (about 1013) and the Cathedral of Pisa (begun 1063), not to mention other less eminent examples at Lucca and Pistoja, are sufficient evidences that in the darkest period of the Middle Ages the Italians were aiming at an architectural Renaissance. The influence of classical models is apparent both in the construction and the detail of these basilicas; while the deeply grounded preference of the Italian genius for round arches, for colonnades of pillars and pilasters, and for large rectangular spaces with low roofs and shallow tribunes, finds full satisfaction in these original and noble buildings.

The ill-success of Gothic.

The advent of Gothic architecture in Italy was due partly to the direct influence of German emperors, partly to the imperial sympathies of the great nobles, partly to the Franciscan friars who aimed at building large churches cheaply, and partly to the admiration excited by the grandeur of the Pointed style as it prevailed in Northern Europe. But it is not to be understood that this style was of purely foreign origin. Italy, in common with the rest of Europe, passed by a natural process of evolution from the Romanesque to the Pointed manner, and treated the latter with an originality that proves a certain natural assimilation. Yet the first Gothic church —that of S. Francis at Assisi—was designed by a German; the most splendid, that of Our Lady at Milan, is emphatically German in style, though its first architect was a Milanese. While, during the brief period of Gothic ascendency, we have the cathedrals of Siena, Orvieto, Lucca, Bologna, Florence, and Milan, together with the town-halls of Perugia, Siena, and Florence, the style refused to take hold upon the national taste, and died away before the growing passion for antiquity that restored the Italians to a sense of their own intellectual greatness.

Domestic architecture.

About the same time that the cathedrals were being built, the nobles filled the towns with fortresses. These, at first, were gaunt and unsightly, with tall, bare watch-towers, as may be still seen at San Gemignano, or at Pavia and Bologna. In course of time, when the aristocracy came to be fused with the burghers, and public order was maintained by law in the great cities, these forts made way for spacious palaces. The temper of the citizens in each place and the local character of artistic taste

determined the specific features of domestic as of ecclesiastical architecture. Though it is hard to define what are the social differences expressed by the large quadrangles of Francesco Sforza's hospital at Milan, and the heavy cube of the Riccardi palace at Florence, we feel that the *genius loci* has in each case controlled the architect.

To the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, again, we owe the town-halls and public palaces that form so prominent a feature in the city architecture of Italy. Few of these public palaces have the good fortune to be distinguished, like that of the Doges at Venice, by world-historical memories and by works of art as yet unrivalled. The spirit of the Venetian republic still lives in that unique building. Two others, of the time of the Communes, rearing their towers above the town for tocsin and for ward, may be mentioned for their intrinsic beauty. These are the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena, and the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence. Few buildings in Europe are more picturesquely fascinating than the palace of Siena, with its outlook over hill and dale to cloud-clapped Monte Amiata. Yet, in spite of its unparalleled position on the curved and sloping piazza, this palace lacks the vivid interest attaching to the home Arnolfo raised at Florence for the rulers of his native city. During their term of office the priors never quitted the palace of the Signory. All deliberations on state affairs took place within its walls, and the bell was the pulse that told how the heart of Florence throbbed.

Municipal buildings.

The architect of this huge mass of masonry was Arnolfo del Cambio, one of the

Arnolfo del Cambio.

greatest builders of the Middle Ages—a man who may be called the Michael Angelo of the thirteenth century. No Italian architect has enjoyed the proud privilege of stamping his own individuality more strongly on his native city than Arnolfo. When we take our stand upon the hill of San Miniato, the Florence at our feet is seen to owe her physiognomy in a great measure to this man. The tall tower of the Palazzo Vecchio, the bulk of the Duomo, and the long, low, oblong mass of Santa Croce, are all his. His, too, are the walls that define the City of Flowers from the gardens round about her. Even the master-works of his successors subordinate their beauty to his first conception. Giotto's campanile, Brunelleschi's cupola, and Orcagna's church of Orsammichele, in spite of their undoubted and authentic originality, are placed where he had planned.

A style adapted from Roman remains.

The classical revival of the fifteenth century made itself immediately felt in architecture, and Brunelleschi's visit to Rome in 1403 may be fixed as the date of the Renaissance in this art. The problem was how to restore the manner of ancient Rome as far as possible, adapting it to the modern requirements of ecclesiastical, civic, and domestic buildings. Of Greek art they knew comparatively nothing; nor, indeed, would Greek architecture have offered for their purpose the same plastic elements as Roman—itself a derived style, admitting of easier adjustment to modern uses than the inflexibly pure art of Greece. At the same time they possess but imperfect fragments of Roman work. The ruins of baths, theatres, temple-fronts, and triumphal arches were of little immediate assistance

in the labor of designing churches and palaces. All that the architects could do, after familiarizing themselves with the remains of ancient Rome, and assimilating the spirit of Roman art, was to clothe their own inventions with classic details. The form and structure of their edifices were modern; the parts were copied from antique models. A want of organic unity and structural sincerity is always the result of those necessities under which a secondary and adapted style must labor; and thus the pseudo-Roman buildings, even of the best Renaissance period, display faults similar to those of the Italian Gothic.

The buildings of Brunelleschi.

Brunelleschi, in designing the basilica of S. Lorenzo, in 1425, after an original but truly classic type, remarkable for its sobriety and correctness, followed what he had learnt from the ruins of Rome under the guidance of his own artistic instinct. And yet the general effect resembles nothing we possess of antique work. It is a masterpiece of intelligent Renaissance adaptation. The same is true of S. Spirito, built in 1470, after his death, according to his plans. The extraordinary capacity of this great architect will, however, win more homage from ordinary observers when they contemplate the Pitti Palace and the cupola of the Duomo. Both of these are masterpieces of personal originality.

Leo Battista Alberti.

Almost contemporary with Brunelleschi was Leo Battista Alberti, of whose extraordinary ability in every department of the fine arts we have already spoken. In his church of S. Francesco at Rimini, and that of S. Andrea at Mantua, he sought to reproduce more closely the actual elements of Roman architecture. Like Brunelleschi, he displayed

his talent as an architect in the building of the Palazzo Rucellai, of which frequent mention has been made in connection with the society at Florence in the time of the Medici. This building, one of the most beautiful in Italy, became a model to subsequent architects. It was copied by Francesco di Giorgio and Bernardo Fiorentino for the palaces they constructed at Pienza, a little town near Montepulciano. The first medium between mediæval massiveness and classic simplicity was attained in countless buildings, beautiful and various beyond description. Bologna is full of them; and Urbino, in the ducal palace, contains one specimen unexampled in extent and unique in interest. After Brunelleschi and Alberti came Michellozzo,

Michellozzo.

who was commissioned to raise the large, but comparatively humble, Riccardi Palace in the corner of the Via Larga, which continued to be the residence of the Medici through all their chequered history until they took possession of the Palazzo Pitti. But one of the most beautiful of all the Florentine dwelling-houses designed at this period is that which Benedetto da Majano built for Filippo Strozzi. Combining the burgher-like austerity of antecedent ages with a grandeur and a breadth of style peculiar to the Renaissance, the Palazzo Strozzi may be chosen as the perfect type of Florentine domestic architecture.

Benedetto da Majano.

To Bramante must be assigned the foremost place among the architects of the golden age. Though little of his work survives entire and unspoiled, it is clear that he exercised the profoundest influence over both successors and contemporaries. What they chiefly owed to him was the proper

Bramante.

subordination of beauty in details to the grandeur of simplicity and to unity of effect. He came at a moment when constructive problems had been solved, when mechanical means were perfected, and when the sister arts had reached their highest point. It is hard to say how much of the work ascribed to him in Northern Italy is genuine; but most of it, at any rate, belongs to the manner of his youth. The church of S. Maria della Consolazione at Todi, the palace of the Cancellaria at Rome, and the unfinished cathedral of Pavia enabled us to comprehend the general character of this great architect's refined and noble manner. S. Peter's, it may be said in passing, retains, in spite of all subsequent modifications, many essentially Bramantesque features—especially in the distribution of the piers and rounded niches.

At Rome the influence of Bramante was propagated through Raphael, Giulio Romano, and Baldassare Peruzzi. Raphael's claim to consideration as an architect rests upon the Palazzi Vidoni and Pandolfini, the Capella Chigi in S. Maria del Popolo, and the Villa Madama. The last-named building, executed by Giulio Romano after Raphael's designs, is carried out in a style so forcible as to make us fancy that the pupil had a larger share in its creation than his master. These works, however, sink into insignificance before the Palazzo del Te at Mantua, the masterpiece of Giulio's genius. This most noble of Italian pleasure-houses remains to show what the imagination of a poet-artist could recover from the splendor of old Rome, and adapt to the use of his own age. A pendent to the Palazzo del Te is the Villa Farnesina, raised on

Raphael as architect.

Giulio Romano.

Baldassare Peruzzi.

the banks of the Tiber by Baldassare Peruzzi for his fellow-townsman Agostino Chigi of Siena. The frescoes of Galatea and Psyche, executed by Raphael and his pupils, have made this villa famous in the annals of Italian painting.

Jacopo Sansovino, the architect.

Among the great edifices of a later period we may reckon Jacopo Sansovino's buildings at Venice, though they approximate rather to the style of the earlier Renaissance in all that concerns exuberance of decorative detail. The court of the ducal palace, the Scuola di S. Rocco, the Palazzo Corner, and the Palazzo Vendramini-Calergi illustrate the strong yet fanciful *bravura* style that pleased the aristocracy of Venice. Nowhere else does the architecture of the Middle Ages melt by more imperceptible degrees into that of the revival, retaining through all changes the impress of a people splendor-loving in the highest sense. The Library of S. Mark, built by Sansovino in 1536, remains, however, the crowning triumph of Venetian art. It is impossible to contemplate its double row of open arches without echoing the judgment of Palladio that nothing more sumptuous or beautiful had been invented since the age of ancient Rome.

Michael Angelo as architect.

Passing over a crowd of other architects who gained distinction in the first half of the sixteenth century—Antonio di San Gallo, famous for fortifications; Baccio d' Agnolo, who raised the campanile of S. Spirito at Florence; Giovanni Maria Flaconetto, to whose genius Padua owed so many princely edifices; Michaele Sanmicheli, the military architect of Verona, and the builder of five mighty palaces for the nobles of his native city—our attention

must be arrested at the name of Michael Angelo. In architecture as in sculpture, he not only bequeathed to posterity masterpieces in their kind unrivalled, but he also prepared for his successors a false way of working, and justified by his example the extravagances of the decadence. Without noticing the façade designed for S. Lorenzo at Florence, the transformation of the baths of Diocletian into a church, the remodelling of the Capitoline buildings, and the continuation of the Palazzo Farnese—works that either exist only in drawings or have been confused by later alterations—it is enough here to mention the Sagrestia Nuova of S. Lorenzo and the dome of S. Peter's. The sacristy may be looked on as the masterpiece of a sculptor who required fit setting for his statues, or of an architect who designed statues to enhance the structure he had planned. Both arts are used with equal ease, nor has the genius of Michael Angelo dealt more masterfully with the human frame than with the forms of Roman architecture in this chapel. What S. Peter's would have been if he had lived to finish it can only be imagined from his plans and elevations still preserved. It must always remain a matter of profound regret that his design was so far altered as to sacrifice the effect of the dome from the piazza.

Palladio.

With the decadence of the Renaissance the architects inclined more to base their practice upon minute study of antique writers. They, more than any of their predecessors, realized the long-sought restitution of the classic style according to precise scholastic canons. The greatest builder of the time we speak of was Andrea Palladio of Vicenza, who combined a more complete analytical knowledge of an-

tiquity with a firmer adherence to rule and precedent than even the most imitative of his forerunners. It is useless to seek for decorative fancy, wealth of detail, or sallies of inventive genius in the Palladian style. All is cold and calculated in the many palaces and churches which adorn both Venice and Vicenza. They make us feel that inspiration has been superseded by the reason. But one great public building of Palladio's —the Palazzo della Ragione at Vicenza—may be cited as perhaps the culminating point of pure Renaissance architecture.

Niccola Pisano.

In the procession of the fine arts Sculpture always follows close upon the steps of Architecture, and at first appears in some sense as her handmaid. Mediæval Italy found her Pheidias in a great man of Pisan origin, born during the first decade of the thirteenth century. It was Niccola Pisano, architect and sculptor, who first with the breath of genius breathed life into the dead forms of plastic art. From him we date the dawn of the æsthetical Renaissance with the same certainty as from Petrarch that of humanism; for he determined the direction not only of sculpture but also of painting in Italy. In truth, Niccola Pisano put the artist on the right track of combining the study of antiquity with the study of nature; and to him belongs the credit not merely of his own achievement, considerable as that may be, but also of the work of his immediate scholars and of all who learnt from him to portray life. From Niccola Pisano onward to Michael Angelo and Cellini we trace our genealogy of sculptors who, though they carried art beyond the sphere of his invention, looked back to him as their progenitor. Besides minor works, the hex-

agonal pulpit in the baptistery of Pisa, the octagonal pulpit in the cathedral of Siena, the fountain in the market-place of Perugia, and the shrine of S. Dominic at Bologna—all of them designed and partly finished between 1260 and 1274 by Niccola and his scholars—display his mastery over the art of sculpture in the maturity of his genius.

Niccola Pisano founded a school. His son Giovanni, and the numerous pupils employed on the works we have mentioned, carried on the tradition of their master, and spread his style abroad through Italy. Giovanni, to whom we owe the Spina Chapel and the Campo Santo at Pisa, the façade of the Duomo at Siena, and the altar shrine of S. Donato at Arezzo—four of the purest works of Gothic art in Italy—showed a decided leaning to the vehement and mystic style of the Transalpine sculptors. We trace a dramatic intensity in Giovanni's work, not derived from his father, not caught from study of the antique, and curiously blended with the general characteristics of the Pisan school. The Gothic element so cautiously adopted by Niccola is used with sympathy and freedom by his son, whose masterpiece, the pulpit of S. Andrea at Pistoja, might be selected as the supreme triumph of Italian Gothic sculpture. The superiority of that complex and consummate work of plastic art over the pulpit of the Pisan baptistery, in all the most important qualities of style and composition, can scarcely be called in question.

Giovanni Pisano.

As the church of S. Francis at Assisi formed an epoch in the history of painting, by concentrating the genius of Giotto on a series of masterpieces, so the Duomo of Orvieto,

The Cathedral of Orvieto.

by giving free scope to the school of Pisa, marked a point in the history of sculpture. It would be difficult to find elsewhere even separate works of greater force and beauty belonging to this, the first or architectural period of Italian sculpture; and nowhere has the whole body of Christian belief been set forth with method more earnest and with vigor more sustained. Whether Giovanni Pisano had any share in the sculpture on the façade of this cathedral is not known for certain. The Orvietan archives are singularly silent with regard to a monument of so large extent and vast importance, which must have taxed to the uttermost the resources of the ablest stone-carvers in Italy. But his manner, as continued and developed by his school, is unmistakable here; and in the absence of direct information we are left to conjecture the conditions under which this, the closing if not the crowning, achievement of thirteenth-century sculpture was produced.

Andrea Pisano.

Among the most distinguished scholars of Niccola Pisano's tradition must now be mentioned Andrea da Pontadera, called Andrea Pisano, who carried the manner of his master to Florence, and helped to fulfil the destiny of Italian sculpture by submitting it to the rising art of painting. Under the direction of Giotto he carved statues for the Campanile and the façade of the Duomo; and in the first gate of the baptistery he bequeathed a model of bas-relief in bronze, which largely influenced the style of masters in the fifteenth century. To overpraise the simplicity and beauty of design, the purity of feeling, and the technical excellence of Andrea's bronze-work would be difficult.

The most eminent pupil of Andrea Pisano was a

Florentine—the great Andrea Arcagnuolo di Cione, commonly known as Orcagna. This man, like the more illustrious Giotto, was one among the earliest of those comprehensive, many-sided natures produced by Florence for her everlasting glory. He studied under his father, Cione, like other Tuscan artists, the technical details of the goldsmith's craft, which then supplied the strictest method of design. With his brother, Bernardo, he practiced painting. Like Giotto, he was no mean poet; and, like all the higher craftsmen of his age, he was an architect. Though the church of Orsammichele owes its present form to Taddeo Gaddi, Orcagna, as *capo maestro* after Gaddi's death, completed the structure; and though the Loggia de' Lanzi, long ascribed to him by writers upon architecture, is now known to be the work of Benci di Cione, yet Orcagna's Loggio del Bigallo, more modest but not less beautiful, prepared the way for its construction. His genius as a painter is proved by the frescoes in the Strozzi chapel of S. Maria Novella. As a sculptor he is best known through the tabernacle in Orsammichele, built to enshrine the picture of the Madonna by Ugolino da Siena. In this monument the subordination of sculpture to architectural effect is noticeable; and the Giottesque influence appears even more strongly here than in the gate of Andrea Pisano.

Orcagna.

When the Signory decided to complete the bronze gates of the baptistery in the first year of the fifteenth century, they issued a manifesto inviting the sculptors of Italy to prepare designs for competition. Their call was answered by Giacomo della Quercia of Siena, by Filippo Brunelleschi and Lorenzo di Cino Ghi-

The competition for the other gates of the baptistery.

berti of Florence, and by two other Tuscan artists of less note. The young Donatello, aged sixteen, is said to have been consulted as to the rival merits of the designs submitted to the judges. Thus the four great masters of Tuscan art in its prime met before the Florentine baptistery. Giacomo della Quercia was excluded from the competition at an early stage; but the umpires wavered long between Ghiberti and Brunelleschi, until the latter, with noble generosity, feeling the superiority of his rival, and conscious perhaps that his own laurels were to be gathered in the field of architecture, withdrew his claim. In 1403 Ghiberti received the commission for the first of the two remaining gates. He afterwards obtained the second; and, as they were not finished until 1452, the better part of his lifetime was spent upon them.

Della Quercia.

How Della Quercia treated the subject given, the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, we do not know. His bas-reliefs upon the façade of S. Petronio at Bologna, and round the font of S. John's Chapel in the cathedral of Siena, enable us, however, to compare his style with that of Ghiberti. There is no doubt but that he was a formidable rival. Had the gates been intrusted to his execution, we might have possessed a masterpiece of more heroic style. While smoothness and an almost voluptuous suavity of outline distinguish Ghiberti's figures, Della Quercia, by the concentration of robust and rugged power, anticipates the style of Michael Angelo. Two other memorable works of Della Quercia may be mentioned in passing: the Fonte Gaja on the public square of Siena, now unhappily restored, and the portrait of Ilaria del Carretto on her tomb in the cathedral of Lucca.

One great advantage of the early days of the Renaissance over the latter was this, that pseudo-paganism and pedantry had not as yet distorted the judgment or misdirected the aims of artists. Of the impunity with which a sculptor in that period could submit his genius to the service and the study of ancient art without sacrificing individuality, Donatello furnishes a still more illustrious example than Ghiberti. Early in his youth he journeyed with Brunelleschi to Rome, in order to acquaint himself with the monuments then extant. How thoroughly he comprehended the classic spirit is proved by the bronze patera wrought for his patron Ruberto Martelli, and by the frieze of the triumphant Bacchus. Yet the great achievements of his genius were Christian in their sentiment and realistic in their style. The bronze *Magdalen* of the Florentine baptistery, and the bronze *Baptist* of the Duomo at Siena, as also the wooden *Baptist* in the Frari at Venice, are executed with an unrelenting materialism, not alien indeed to the sincerity of classic art, but divergent from antique tradition, inasmuch as the ideas of repentant and prophetic asceticism had no place in Greek mythology. A more felicitous embodiment of modern feeling was achieved by him in his *S. George*, a marble statue placed upon the north wall of Orsammichele, and in his bronze *David*, cast for Cosimo de' Medici, and now in the Bargello. His numerous other works in bronze and marble, to be found in churches and museums, show how widely his influence was diffused through Italy, and of what inestimable value it was in correcting the false direction towards pictorial sculpture which Ghiberti might have given.

Donatello.

Verocchio.

Andrea Verocchio, goldsmith, painter, and worker in bronze, was the most distinguished of Donatello's pupils. To all the arts he practiced he applied limited powers, a meagre manner, and a prosaic mind. But the fact that he numbered Lionardo da Vinci, Lorenzo di Credi, and Pietro Perugino among his scholars proves the esteem he enjoyed among his contemporaries; and when we have observed that the type of face selected by Lionardo and transmitted to his followers appears also in the pictures of Lorenzo di Credi, and is found in the *David* of Verocchio, we have a right to affirm that the master of these men was an artist of creative genius as well as a careful workman. His most famous work is the equestrian statue of the great Condottiere, Bartolommeo Colleoni, which stands in the piazza in front of the Scuola di S. Marco, better known as the Campo di S. Zanipolo, at Venice.

Luca della Robbia.

Luca della Robbia, whose life embraced the first eighty years of the fifteenth century, offers in many important respects a contrast to his contemporaries Ghiberti and Donatello, and still more to their immediate followers. He made his art as true to life as it is possible to be, without the rugged realism of Donatello or the somewhat effeminate graces of Ghiberti. He was apprenticed in his youth to a goldsmith; but of what he wrought before the age of forty-five we know but little. At that time his faculty had attained full maturity, and he produced the groups of dancing children and choristers intended for the organ gallery of the Duomo. Movement has never been suggested in stone with less exaggeration, nor have marble lips been made to utter

sweeter and more varied music. His true perception of the limits to be observed in sculpture appears most eminently in the glazed *terra cotta* work by which he is best known. His nephew, Andrea della Robbia, with his four sons, continued to manufacture the glazed earthenware of Luca's invention, but their work lacked the fine taste of their master. They were followed by Agostino di Gucci or di Duccio, a sculptor who handled *terra cotta* somewhat in the manner of Donatello's flat-relief, and aiming at more passion than Luca's taste permitted.

Four sculptors, the younger contemporaries of Luca della Robbia, and marked by certain common qualities, demand a passing mention. **Rossellino.** All the work of Antonio Rossellino, Matteo Civitale, Mino da Fiesole, and Benedetto da Majano, is distinguished by sweetness, grace, tranquillity and self-restraint. But there are differences in their style which may be noticed. Rossellino has a leaning towards the manner of Ghiberti, whose landscape backgrounds he has adopted in the circular medallions of his monumental sculpture. Rare dignity, however, is to be found in the much-admired monument of the young Cardinal di Portogallo, in the church of San Miniato. The sublimity of the slumber that is death has never been more nobly and feelingly portrayed. Matteo Civitale, of Lucca, was at least Rossellino's equal in the sculpturesque delineation of spiritual qualities; but the motives he chose for treatment were more varied. All his work is penetrated with deep, prayerful, intense feeling, as though the artist's soul, poured forth in ecstasy and adoration, had been given to the marble. For the people of **Civitale.**

Lucca he designed the Chapel of the Santo Volto—a gem of the purest Renaissance architecture—and a pulpit in the same style. The altar of S. Regulus might also be named as an epitome of all that is most characteristic of the earlier Renaissance. Mino di Giovanni, called Da Fiesole, was characterized by grace that tended to degenerate into formaiity. The tombs in the abbey of Florence have an almost infantile sweetness of style, which might be extremely piquant were it not that he pushed this quality in other works to the verge of mannerism. His bust of Bishop Salutati in the cathedral of Fiesole is, however, a powerful portrait, no less distinguished for vigorous individuality than consummate workmanship. Benedetto da Majano, whom we have already mentioned as the designer of the Strozzi Palace, and his friend Desiderio da Settignano, one of Donatello's few scholars, were endowed with the same gift of exquisite taste as Mino da Fiesole.

Mino da Fiesole.

The list of fifteenth-century sculptors is almost ended; and already, on the threshold of the sixteenth, stands the mighty form of Michael Angelo. Andrea Contucci da Sansovino and his pupil, Jacopo Tatti, called also Sansovino, must, however, be mentioned as continuing the Florentine tradition without subservience to the style of Buonarroti. Andrea da Sansovino was a sculptor in whom, for the first time, the faults of the mid-Renaissance period was glaringly apparent. He persistently sacrificed simplicity of composition to decorative ostentation, and tranquillity of feeling to theatrical effect. The truth of this will be acknowledged by all who have studied the tombs of the cardinals in S.

Andrea da Sansovino, the sculptor.

Maria del Popolo, and the bas-reliefs upon the Santa Casa at Loreto. Jacopo Tatti was a genius of more distinction. Together with San Gallo and Bramante he studied the science of architecture in Rome, where he also worked at the restoration of newly-discovered antiques, and cast in bronze a copy of the *Laocoon*. He was called, in 1523, by the Doge, Andrea Gritti, to Venice, and there he worked until his death in 1570, building the Zecca, the Library, the Scala d'Oro in the ducal palace, and the Loggietta beneath the bell-tower of S. Mark. He was a first-rate craftsman, and marks the final intrusion of paganism into modern art. The classical revival had worked but partially and indirectly upon Ghiberti and Donatello—not because they did not feel it intensely, but because they clung to nature far more closely than to antique precedent. The most beautiful and spirited pagan statue of the Renaissance period is Sansovino's *Bacchus* in the Bargello Museum. Both the Bacchus and the Satyriscus at his side are triumphs of realism, irradiated and idealized by the sculptor's sense of natural gladness. Considered as a restitution of the antique manner, this statue is decidedly superior to the *Bacchus* of Michael Angelo.

Jacopo Tatti.

It is a long descent to name Baccio Bandinelli and Bartolommeo Ammanati, who filled the squares of the Italian cities with statues of Hercules and Satyrs, Neptune and River-gods. We know not whether to select the vulgarity, the feebleness, or the pretentiousness of these pseudo-classical colossi for condemnation. They have nothing Greek about them but their names, their nakedness, and their association with myths, the signifi-

Bandinelli and Ammanati.

cance whereof was never really felt by the sculptors. But, at the same time, there were works produced in illustration of classical mythology which have true value as works of art. The *Perseus* of Benvenuto Cellini and some of Gian Bologna's statues belong to a class of æsthetic productions which show how much that is both original and excellent may be raised in the hot-bed of culture.

Benvenuto Cellini and Gian Bologna.

Beginning as the handmaid of the Church, and stimulated by the enthusiasm of the two great popular monastic orders, painting was at first devoted to embodying the thoughts of mediæval Christianity. In proportion as the painters fortified themselves by study of the natural world, their art became more secular. About the year 1440 this process of secularization was hastened by the influence of the classical revival, renewing an interest in the past life of humanity, and stirring a zeal for science.

Painting as an aid to religion.

We may still recall the story of Cimabue's picture, visited by Charles of Anjou and borne in triumph through the streets to S. Maria Novella; for this was the birthday festival of nothing less than what the world now values as Italian painting. In this public act of joy the people of Florence recognized and paid enthusiastic honor to the art arisen among them from the dead. In a dark transept, raised by steps above the level of the church, still hangs this famous *Madonna* of the Rucellai. It is in the Byzantine or Romanesque manner, from which Cimabue did not free himself; but we see here a distinctly fresh endeavor to express emotion and to depict life.

Cimabue.

It remained for Giotto Bondone, born at Vespignano in 1276, just at the date of Niccola Pisano's death, to carry painting in his lifetime even further than the Pisan sculptor had advanced the sister art. As we travel from Padua in the north, where his Arena chapel sets forth the legend of Mary and the life of Christ in a series of incomparable frescoes, southward to Naples, where he adorned the convent of S. Chiara, we meet with Giotto in almost every city. Nothing, indeed, in the history of art is more remarkable than the fertility of this originative genius, no less industrious in labor than fruitful of results for men who followed him. Like Niccola Pisano, Giotto not only founded a school in his native city, but spread his manner far and wide over Italy, so that the first period of the history of painting is the Giottesque. The Gaddi of Florence, Giottino, Puccio Capanna, the Lorenzetti of Siena, Spinello of Arezzo, Andrea Orcagna, Domenico Veneziano, and the lesser artists of the Pisan Campo Santo, were either formed or influenced by him.

Giotto.

It is necessary to observe that at Siena painting had an independent origin, and Guido da Siena may claim to rank even earlier than Cimabue. But the first great painter there was Duccio di Buoninsegna. The completion of his masterpiece—a picture of the *Majesty of the Virgin*, executed for the high altar of the Duomo—marked an epoch in the history of Siena. As in the case of Cimabue's *Madonna*, bells rang and trumpets blew as this image of the sovereign mistress of the city was carried along the streets to be enthroned in her high temple.

Guido da Siena and Duccio.

Far more than their neighbors at Florence, the

Sienese remained fettered by the technical methods and the pietistic formulæ of the earliest religious painting. When they attempted subjects on a large scale, the faults of the miniaturist clung about them. Ambrozio and Pietro Lorenzetti, however, form notable exceptions to this general statement. But it must be applied to Simone Martini, who during his lifetime enjoyed a celebrity second only to that of Giotto. His first undisputed works are to be seen at Siena and Assisi, where we learn what he could do as a *frescante* in competition with the ablest Florentines.

Ambrozio and Pietro Lorenzetti.

Simone Martini.

We must return again to Florence; and foremost among the pioneers of Renaissance painting, towering above them all by head and shoulders, like Saul among the tribes of Israel, stands Masaccio. The Brancacci chapel of the Carmine, painted in fresco almost entirely by his hand, was the school where all succeeding artists studied, and whence Raphael deigned to borrow the composition and the figures of a portion of his cartoons. The *Legend of S. Catherine* painted by Masaccio in S. Clemente at Rome, though an earlier work, is scarcely less remarkable as evidence that a new age had begun for art. Born in 1402, he left Florence in 1429 for Rome, and was not again heard of by his family. Thus perished, at the early age of twenty-seven, a painter whose work reveals not only the originality of creative genius, but a maturity that moves our wonder. Gifted with exceptional powers, he overleaped the difficulties of his art, and arrived intuitively at results whereof as yet no scientific certainty had been secured.

Masaccio.

Piero della Francesca, a native of Borgo San Sepolcro, and a pupil of Domenico Veneziano, must be placed among the painters of this period who advanced their art by scientific study. Those who have once seen his fresco of the *Resurrection* in the hall of the Compagna della Misericordia at Borgo San Sepolcro will never forget the deep impression of solitude and aloofness from all earthly things produced by it. In addition to the many great paintings that command our admiration, he may claim the honor of being the teacher of Melozzo da Forli and of Luca Signorelli. **Piero della Francesca.**

Signorelli bears a name illustrious in the first rank of Italian painters. He anticipated the greatest master of the sixteenth century, not only in his profound study of human anatomy, but also in his resolution to express high thought and tragic passion by pure form, discarding all the minor charms of painting. Life-long study of perspective, in its application to the drawing of the figure, made the difficulties of foreshortening, and the delineation of brusque attitude, mere child's play to this audacious genius. The most rapid movement, the most perilous contortion of bodies falling through the air or flying, he depicted with hard, firmly-traced, unerring outline. **Luca Signorelli.**

While the Florentine and Umbro-Tuscan masters were perfecting the arts of accurate design, a similar direction towards scientific studies was given to the painters of Northern Italy at Padua. The influence, in this direction, of Francesco Squarcione was considerable. It is clear that he was himself less an artist than an amateur of painting, with a turn for teaching, and a conviction, based upon the human- **Squarcione.**

istic instincts of his age, that the right way of learning was by imitation of the antique. During the course of his career he is said to have taught no less than 137 pupils, training his apprentices by the exhibition of casts and drawings, and giving them instruction in the science of perspective.

Mantegna.

From his school issued the mighty Andrea Mantegna, whose life-work was one of the most weighty moments in the history of modern art. He was born near Padua in 1431, and it is probable that he was the son of a small Lombard farmer. Studying the casts and drawings collected by Squarcione, the young Mantegna found congenial exercise for his peculiar gifts. His early frescoes in the Eremitani at Padua look as though they had been painted from statues or clay models, carefully selected for the grandeur of their forms, the nobility of their attitudes, and the complicated beauty of their drapery. His inspiration was clearly derived from the antique. The beauty of classical bas-relief entered deep into his soul and ruled his imagination. In later life he spent his acquired wealth in forming a collection of Greek and Roman antiquities. He was, moreover, the friend of students, eagerly absorbing the knowledge brought to light by Ciriac of Ancona, Flavio Biondo, and other antiquaries; and so completely did he assimilate the materials of scholarship that the spirit of a Roman seemed to be incarnate in him.

Gentile da Fabriano.

Without attempting a detailed history of painting in this period of divided energy and diverse effort, it is needful to turn aside for a moment and to notice those masters who remained comparatively uninfluenced by the scholastic studies of

their contemporaries. Of these the earliest and most notable was Gentile da Fabriano, the last great painter of the Gubbian school, and Fra Angelico, who, of all the painters of this period, most successfully resisted the persuasions of the Renaissance, and perfected an art that owned little sympathy with the external world. He thought it a sin to study or to imitate the naked form, and his most beautiful faces seem copied from angels seen in visions, not from any sons of men.

Fra Angelico.

Benozzo Gozzoli, the pupil of Fra Angelico, but in no sense the continuator of his tradition, exhibits the blending of several styles by a genius of less creative than assimilative force. That he was keenly interested in the problems of perspective and foreshortening, and that none of the knowledge collected by his fellow-workers had escaped him, is sufficiently proved by his frescoes at Pisa. His compositions are rich in architectural details, not always chosen with pure taste, but painted with an almost infantile delight in the magnificence of buildings.

Benozzo Gozzoli.

Another painter favored by the Medici was Fra Filippo Lippi, of the Carmine, whose pleasure-loving temperament led him into irregularities inconsistent with a monastic life. It can scarcely be doubted that the schism between his practice and profession served to debase and vulgarize a genius of fine imaginative quality, while the uncongenial work of decorating choirs and painting altar-pieces limed the wings of his swift spirit with the dulness of routine that savored of hypocrisy. Whether Filippino Lippi was in truth his son by Lucrezia Buti, a novice he is said to have carried

Fra Filippo Lippi.

Filippino Lippi.

from her cloister in Prato, has been called in question by recent critics; but they adduce no positive arguments for discrediting the story of Vasari. There can, however, be no doubt that to the Frate, whether he was his father or only his teacher, Filippino owed his style.

Botticelli.

Sandro Botticelli, the other disciple of Fra Lippo, bears a name of greater mark. He is one of those artists, much respected in their own days, who suffered eclipse from the superior splendor of immediate successors, and to whom, through sympathy stimulated by prolonged study of the fifteenth century, we have of late paid tardy and perhaps exaggerated honors. His fellow-workers seem to have admired him as an able draughtsman gifted with a rare if whimsical imagination; but no one recognized in him a leader of his age. For us he has an almost unique value as representing the interminglement of antique and modern fancy at a moment of transition—as embodying in some of his pictures the subtlest thought and feeling of men for whom the classic myths were beginning to live once more, while new guesses were timidly hazarded in the sphere of orthodoxy.

Piero di Cosimo.

The biography of Piero di Cosimo forms one of the most amusing chapters in Vasari, who has taken great delight in noting Piero's quaint, humorous and eccentric habits, and whose description of a Carnival triumph devised by him is one of our most precious documents in illustration of Renaissance pageantry. The point that connects him with Botticelli is the romantic treatment of classical mythology, best exemplified in his pictures of *Perseus and Andromeda* in the Uffizi, and of the murdered *Procris* watched by a Satyr in our National Gallery.

It remains to speak of the painter who closes and at the same time gathers up the whole tradition of this period. Domenico Ghirlandajo deserves the place of honor, not because he had the strongest passion, the subtlest fancy, the loftiest imagination—for in these points he was excelled by some one or another of his contemporaries or predecessors—but because his intellect was the most comprehensive and his mastery of art the most complete. His life lasted from 1449 to 1498, and he did not distinguish himself as a painter till he was past thirty. It is almost with reluctance that a critic feels obliged to name this powerful but prosaic painter as the Giotto of the fifteenth century in Florence, the tutelary angel of an age inaugurated by Masaccio. He was a consummate master of the science collected by his predecessors. No one surpassed him in the use of fresco. His orderly composition, in the distribution of figures and the use of architectural accessories, is worthy of all praise; his portraiture is dignified and powerful, his choice of form and treatment of drapery noble. Yet we cannot help noting his deficiency in the finer sense of beauty, the absence of poetic inspiration or feeling in his work, the commonplaceness of his color, and his wearisome reiteration of calculated effects. Who, however, but Ghirlandajo could have composed the frescoes of *S. Fina* at S. Gemignano, of the *Death of S. Francis* in S. Trinità at Florence, or that of the *Birth of the Virgin* in S. Maria Novella?

Ghirlandajo.

The Renaissance, so far as painting is concerned, may be said to have culminated between the years 1470 and 1550. The thirty years at the close of the fifteenth century may

The culmination of Renaissance art.

be taken as one epoch in this climax of the art, while the first half of the sixteenth forms a second. Within the former falls the best work of Mantegna, Perugino, Francia, the Bellini, Signorelli, and Fra Bartolommeo. To the latter we may assign Michael Angelo, Raphael, Giorgione, Correggio, Titian, and Andrea del Sarto. Lionardo da Vinci, though belonging chronologically to the former epoch, ranks first among the masters of the second; and to this also may be given Tintoretto, though his life extended far beyond it to the last years of the century.

Perugino.

The place occupied by Perugino in the evolution of Italian painting is peculiar. In the middle of a positive and worldly age, declining fast to frigid scepticism and political corruption, he set the final touch of technical art upon the devotion transmitted from earlier and more enthusiastic centuries. The flower of Umbrian piety blossomed in the masterpieces of his youth, and faded into dryness in the affectations of his manhood. In our National Gallery we have in a triptych one of his sincerest devotional oil pictures. His frescoes of *S. Sebastian* at Panicale, and of the *Crucifixion* at Florence, are tolerably well known through reproductions; while the *Vision of S. Bernard* at Munich and the *Pietà* in the Pitti Gallery are familiar to all travelled students of Italian painting.

Raphael.

The influence of Perugino upon Italian art was powerful though transitory. He formed a band of able pupils, among whom was the great Raphael; and though Raphael speedily abandoned his master's narrow footpath through the fields of painting, he owed to Perugino the invaluable benefit of training in solid technical methods and traditions of

pure taste. The life and work of this supreme artist have been so fully and ably handled by various writers, and the subjects he treated are so much the common property of even the least educated, that we are hardly called upon, in the space at our disposal, to do more than allude to the school in which his genius first began to display itself. Of other scholars of Perugino, Bernardo Pinturicchio can also alone be mentioned. **Pinturicchio.** A thorough naturalist, though saturated with the mannerism of the Umbrian school, Pinturicchio was not distracted either by scientific or ideal aims from the clear and fluent presentation of contemporary manners and customs. He is a kind of Umbrian Gozzoli, who brings us here and there in close relation to the men of his own time, and has, in consequence, a special value for the student of Renaissance life.

There are still two painters who come within the limits of the fifteenth century that we can only glance at. Francesco Raibolini, surnamed Francia from his master in the goldsmith's art, was one of the most sincerely pious of Christian painters, and we possess a good example of his style in the *Dead Christ* in our National Gallery. In order to be rightly known, his numerous pictures at Bologna should be studied by all lovers of the *quattrocento* style in its most delightful moments. **Francesco Francia.**

Bartolommeo di Paolo dei Fattorino, better known as Baccio della Porta or Fra Bartolommeo, forms at Florence the connecting link between the artists of the earlier Renaissance and the golden age. By chronological reckoning he is nearly a quarter of a century later than Lionardo da Vinci, and is the exact contemporary of Michael Angelo. It **Fra Bartolommeo.**

was in Cosimo Rosselli's *bottega* that he made acquaintance with Mariotto Albertinelli, who became his intimate friend and fellow-worker, in spite of their disagreements in politics and religion. Albertinelli was wilful, obstinate, a partisan of the Medici, and a loose liver. Bartolommeo was gentle, yielding, and industrious. He fell under the influence of Savonarola, and took the cowl of the Dominicans. So firm was the bond of friendship established in boyhood between this ill-assorted couple, that they did not part company until 1512, three years before Albertinelli's death, and five before that of Bartolommeo. Albertinelli's *Salutation* in the Uffizi yields no point of grace and vigor to any of his more distinguished contemporary's paintings. As a colorist Fra Bartolommeo is superior to any of his rivals in the school of Florence. Few painters of any age have combined harmony of tone so perfectly with brilliance and richness.

Albertinelli.

We have now reached the great age of the Italian Renaissance in art—the age in which, not counting for the moment Venice, four most remarkable men gathered up all that had hitherto been achieved in art since the days of Pisano and Giotto, adding such illumination from the sunlight of their inborn genius that in them the world forever sees what art can do. Lionardo da Vinci was born in Valdarno in 1452, and died in France in 1519. Michael Angelo Buonarroti was born at Caprese, in the Casentino, in 1475, and died at Rome in 1564, having outlived the lives of his great peers by nearly half a century. Raphael Santi was born at Urbino in 1483, and died in Rome in 1520. Antonio Allegri was born at Correggio in 1494, and died there in 1534. To

The four greatest masters.

these four men, each in his own degree and according to his own peculiar quality of mind, the fulness of the Renaissance in its power and freedom was revealed. In their work posterity still may read the meaning of that epoch, differently rendered according to their different gifts, but comprehended in its unity by study of the four together.

The Venetian School.

It was a fact of the greatest importance for the development of the fine arts in Italy, that painting in Venice reached maturity later than in Florence. Owing to this circumstance one chief aspect of the Renaissance, its material magnificence and freedom, received consummate treatment at the hands of Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese. To idealize the sensualities of the external universe, to achieve for color what the Florentines had done for form, to invest the worldly grandeur of human life at one of its most gorgeous epochs with the dignity of the highest art, was what these great artists were called on to accomplish. Their task could not have been so worthily performed in the fifteenth century as in the sixteenth, if the development of the æsthetic sense had been more premature among the Venetians.

The Ducal Palace.

It is in the heart of Venice, in the House of the Republic, that the Venetian painters, considered as the interpreters of worldly splendor, fulfilled their function with the most complete success. Centuries contributed to make the Ducal Palace what it is. The massive colonnades and Gothic loggias of the external basement date from the thirteenth century; their sculpture belongs to the age when Niccolo Pisani's genius was in the ascendant. The square fabric of the palace, so beautiful in the irregularity of

its pointed windows, so singular in its mosaic diaper of pink and white, was designed at the same early period. The inner court and the façade that overhangs the lateral canal display the handiwork of Sansovino. The halls of the palace—spacious chambers where the senate assembled, where ambassadors approached the Doge, where the Savi deliberated, where the Council of Ten conducted their inquisition—are walled and roofed with pictures of inestimable value.

The note of Venetian artists.

Long before Venetian painting reached a climax in the decorative triumphs of the Ducal Palace, the masters of the school had formed a style expressive of the spirit of the Renaissance, considered as the spirit of free enjoyment and living energy. To trace the history of Venetian painting is to follow through the several stages the growth of that mastery over color and sensuous beauty which was perfected in the works of Titian and his contemporaries. Under the Vivarini of Murano, the Venetian school in its infancy began with a selection from the natural world of all that struck them as most brilliant. No other painters of their age in Italy employed such glowing colors, or showed a more marked predilection for the imitation of fruits, rich stuffs, architectural canopies, jewels, and landscape backgrounds. Their piety, unlike the mysticism of the Sienese and the deep feeling of the Florentine masters, is somewhat superficial and conventional.

Their subjects derived from the locality.

What the Vivarini began, the three Bellini, Jacopo and his sons Gentile and Giovanni, with Crivelli, Carpaccio, Mansueti, Basaiti, Catena, Cima da Conegliano, Bissolo, Cordegliaghi, continued. Bright costumes, distinct and

sunny landscapes, broad backgrounds of architecture, large skies, polished armor, gilded cornices, young faces of fisherboys and country girls, grave faces of old men brown with sea-wind and sunlight, withered faces of women hearty in a hale old age, the strong manhood of Venetian senators, the dignity of patrician ladies, the gracefulness of children, the amber-colored tresses of the daughters of the Adriatic and lagoons—these are the source of inspiration to the Venetians of the second period. Mantegna, a few miles distant, at Padua, was working out his ideal of severely classical design. Yet he scarcely touched the manner of the Venetians with his influence, though Gian Bellini was his brother-in-law and pupil, and though his genius, in grasp of matter and in management of composition, soared above his neighbors. Lionardo da Vinci, at Milan, was perfecting his problems of psychology in painting, offering to the world solutions of the greatest difficulties in the delineation of the spirit by expression. Yet not a trace of Lionardo's subtle play of light and shadow upon thoughtful features can be discerned in the work of the Bellini. For them the mysteries of the inner and the outer world had no attraction. The externals of a full and vivid existence fascinated their imagination. They undertook to paint only what they could see. Very instructive are the wall-pictures of this period, painted not in fresco but on canvas by Carpaccio and Gentile Bellini, for the decoration of the Scuole of S. Ursula and S. Croce—the halls of meeting for companies named after patron saints. Not only do these bring before us the life of Venice in its manifold variety, but they illustrate the

Carpaccio and Gentile Bellini.

tendency of the Venetian masters to express the actual world rather than to formulate an ideal of the fancy. This realism, if the name can be applied to pictures so poetical as those of Carpaccio, is not, like the Florentine realism, hard and scientific. A natural feeling for grace and a sense of romance inspire the artist, and breathe from every figure that he paints.

Giorgione. Giorgione, did we but possess enough of his authentic works to judge by, would be found the first painter of the true Renaissance among the Venetians, the inaugurator of the third and great period. He died at the age of thirty-six, the inheritor of unfulfilled renown. Time has destroyed the last vestige of his frescoes, and criticism has reduced the number of his genuine easel pictures to half a dozen. Of his undisputed pictures, the grandest is the *Monk at the Clavichord* in the Pitti Palace at Florence. Fate has dealt less unkindly with Titian, Tintoretto, and Paolo Veronese. The works of these great artists, in whom the Venetian Renaissance attained completion, have been preserved in large numbers and in excellent condition.

Titian. Titian holds, in relation to the Venetian school, the position held by Raphael among his contemporaries in the rest of Italy, and their works are in both cases so numerous and so equally well known that it is needless to give an account of them in the one case more than in the other. Together, these supreme artists may be termed a double-star in that bright field of genius, where the mode in which their faculties are used appeals in an equal degree to the imagination, and to our sense of wonder and delight.

Tintoretto, called by the Italians the thunderbolt of painting, because of his vehement impulsiveness and rapidity of execution, soars above his brethren by the faculty of pure imagination. It was he who brought to perfection the poetry of *chiaroscuro*, expressing moods of passion and emotion in brusque lights, luminous half-shadows, and semi-opaque darkness. He, too, engrafted on the calm and natural Venetian manner something of the Michael Angelesque sublimity, and sought to vary by dramatic movement the romantic motives of his school. In his work, more than in that of his contemporaries, Venetian art ceased to be decorative and idyllic, Veronese elevated pageantry to the height of serious art. His domain is noonday sunlight ablaze on sumptuous dresses and Palladian architecture. Where Tintoretto is dramatic, he is scenic. Titian, in a wise harmony, continuing the traditions of Bellini and Giorgione, with a breadth of treatment peculiar to himself, gave to color in landscape and the human form a sublime yet sensuous poetry no other painter in the world has reached. Among the Venetian painters, it may be observed in conclusion, there was no conflict between art and religion, no reaction against previous pietism, no perplexity of conscience, no confusion of aims. Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese were children of the people, men of the world, men of pleasure; wealthy, urbane, independent, pious—all these by turns; but they were never mystics, scholars, or philosophers. In their æsthetic ideal religion found a place, nor was sensuality rejected; but the religion was sane and manly, the sensuality was vigorous and virile. Not the intellectual greatness of the Renais-

Tintoretto.

Veronese.

sance, but its happiness and freedom, was what they represented.

Lionardo da Vinci.

It was the special good fortune of the pupils of Lionardo da Vinci that what he actually accomplished bore no proportion to the suggestiveness of his teaching and the fertility of his invention. Of finished work he left but little to the world; while his sketches and designs, the teeming thoughts of his creative brain, were an inestimable heritage. It remained for his disciples, each in his own sphere, with inferior powers and feebler intellect, to perpetuate the genius of their master. Thus the spirit of Lionardo continued to live in Lombardy after he was dead. Andrea Salaino, Marco d'Oggiono, Francesco Melzi, Giovanni Antonio Beltraffio, and Cesare da Sesto were all of them skilled workmen. But two painters of this school, Bernardino Luini and Gaudenzio Ferrari, demand more particular notice. Without Lionardo it is difficult to say what Luini would have been, so thoroughly did he appropriate his teacher's type of face and refinement of execution. And yet Luini stands on his own ground, in no sense an imitator, with a genius more simple and idyllic than Da Vinci's. Little conception of his charm can be formed by those who have not seen his frescoes in the Brera and S. Maurizio Maggiore at Milan, in the church of the Angeli at Lugano, or in the pilgrimage church of Saronno. Gaudenzio Ferrari was a genius of a different order, more robust, more varied, but less single-minded than Luini. His style reveals the influences of a many-sided, ill-assimilated education, blending the manners of

Luini.

Gaudenzio Ferrari.

Bramantino, Lionardo, and Raphael without proper fusion. His dramatic scenes from sacred history, rich in novel motives and exuberantly full of invention, crowd the churches of Vercelli; while a whole epic of the Passion is painted in fresco above the altar of S. Maria delle Grazie at Varallo, covering the wall from basement to ceiling. The prodigality of power displayed by Ferrari makes up for much of crudity in style and confusion in aim; nor can we refuse the tribute of warmest admiration to a master who, when the schools of Rome and Florence were sinking into emptiness and bombast, preserved the fire of feeling for serious themes.

Passing from Lionardo to Raphael, we find the reverse of what has been noticed with regard to the influence of the master and the suggestiveness of his teaching. Raphael worked out the mine of his own thought so thoroughly, and carried his style to such perfection, that he left nothing untried for his followers. When he died, inspiration seemed to pass from them as color fades from clouds at sunset. But the times were also against them. The patrons of art required show far more than thought, and this the pupils of Raphael were competent to supply without much effort. Giulio Romano alone, by dint of robust energy and lurid fire of fancy, to be seen through the smoke of his coarser nature, achieved a not undeserving triumph. His Palazzo del Te will always remain the monument of a specific moment in Renaissance history, since it is adequate to the intellectual conditions of a race demoralized, but living still, with largeness and a sense of grandeur.

No inspiration descended from Raphael.

Giulio Romano.

Michael Angelo, whose history and great achievements will not admit of compression, formed no school in the strict sense of the word; yet his influence was not the less felt on that account, nor less powerful than Raphael's in the same direction. During his manhood Sebastian del Piombo, Marcello Venusti, and Daniele da Volterra had endeavored to add the charm of oil-coloring to his designs; and long before his death the seduction of his mannerism began to exercise a fatal charm for all the schools of Italy. As his fame increased, his peculiarities grew more defined; so that imitators fixed precisely upon that which sober critics now regard as a deduction from his greatness. They fancied they were treading in his footsteps, and using the grand manner, when they covered church roofs and canvases with sprawling figures in distorted attitudes.

Sebastian del Piombo, Venusti, and Daniele da Volterra.

Correggio, again, though he can hardly be said to have founded a school, was destined to exercise wide and perilous influence over a host of manneristic imitators. Francesco Mazzolo, called Il Parmigianino, followed him so closely that his frescoes at Parma are hardly distinguishable from the master's; while Federigo Baroccio at Urbino endeavored to preserve the sensuous and almost childish sweetness of his style in its integrity. But the real attraction of Correggio was only felt when the new *barocco* architecture called for a new kind of decoration. Every cupola throughout the length and breadth of Italy began then to be painted with rolling clouds and lolling angels. What the wits of Parma had once stigmatized as a *ragoût* of frogs

Correggio.

Il Parmigianino and Baroccio.

now seemed the only possible expression for celestial ecstasy; and to delineate the joy of heaven upon those multitudes of domes and semi-domes was a point of religious etiquette. At the same time the Caracci made Correggio's style the object of more serious study; and the history of Bolognese painting shows what was to be derived from this master by intelligent and conscientious workmen.

The Caracci.

We have been speaking chiefly of the errors of artists copying the external qualities of their great predecessors. It is refreshing to turn from the *epigoni* of the so-called Roman school to masters in whom the flame of the Renaissance still burned brightly. Andrea del Sarto, the pupil of Piero di Cosimo, but more nearly related in style to Fra Bartolommeo, was himself a contemporary of Raphael and Correggio. To make a just estimate of his achievement is a task of no small difficulty. The Italians called him "il pittore senza errori," or the faultless painter. What they meant by this must have been that, in all the technical requirements of art, in drawing, composition, handling of fresco and oils, disposition of draperies and feeling for light and shadow, he was above criticism. As a colorist he went further and produced more beautiful effects than any Florentine before him. What he lacked was precisely the most precious gift—inspiration, depth of emotion, energy of thought. Yet there is no affectation, no false taste, no trickery in his style. His workmanship is always solid, his hand unerring.

Andrea del Sarto.

Among Del Sarto's followers it will be enough to mention Franciabigio, Vasari's favorite in fresco painting, Rosso de' Rossi, who carried the Florentine manner into France, and Pontormo, the masterly painter of portraits. In the historical pictures of these men, whether sacred or secular, it is clear how much was done for Florentine art by Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto, independently of Michael Angelo and Lionardo da Vinci. Angelo Bronzino, the pupil of Pontormo, is chiefly valuable for his portraits. Hard and cold, yet obviously true to life, they form a gallery of great interest for the historian of Duke Cosimo's reign. His frescoes and allegories illustrate the defects that have been pointed out in the imitators of Raphael and Michael Angelo.

Franciabigio, Rosso de' Rossi, Pontormo.

Bronzino.

Siena, after a long period of inactivity, received a fresh impulse at the same time as Florence. Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, or Razzi, called Il Sodoma, born at Vercelli about 1477, studied under Lionardo da Vinci, and then removed to Rome, where he became a friend of Raphael. These double influences determined a style that never lost its own originality. With what delicacy and *naïveté*, almost like a second Luini, but with more of humor and sensuousness, he approached historic themes may be seen in his frescoes at Monte Oliveto, near Siena. These are superior to his frescoes in the Farnesina at Rome. Sodoma's influence at Siena, where he lived a picturesque life, delighting in his horses and surrounding himself with strange four-footed pets of all sorts, soon produced a school of worthy masters. Girolamo del Pacchia, Domenico Beccafumi, and Baldassare Peruzzi,

Il Sodoma.

though they owed much to the stimulus of his example, followed him in no servile spirit.

To mention the remaining schools of Italy in detail would be wearisome. True art still flourished at Ferrara, where Garofalo endeavored to carry on the Roman manner of Raphael without the necessary strength or ideality, but also without the soulless insincerity of the mannerists. His best quality was coloring, gemlike and rich; but this found little scope for exercise in the dry and labored style he affected. Dosso Dossi fared better, perhaps, through never having experienced the seductions of Rome. His glowing color and quaint fancy give the attraction of romance to many of his pictures.

Garofalo.

Dosso Dossi.

Cremona, at this epoch, had a school of painting influenced almost equally by the Venetians, the Milanese, and the Roman mannerists. The Campi family covered those grave Lombard vaults with stucco, fresco, and gilding, in a style only just removed from the *barocco*. Brescia and Bergamo remained within the influence of Venice, producing work of nearly first-rate quality in Moretto, Romanino, and Lorenzo Lotto. Moroni, the pupil of Moretto, was destined to become one of the most powerful character painters of the modern world, and to enrich the studies of historians and artists with a series of portraits impressive by their fidelity to the spirit of the sixteenth century at its conclusion. Venice herself, at this period, was still producing masterpieces of the genuine Renaissance. But the decline into mannerism, caused by circumstances similar to those at Rome, was not far distant.

Other schools.

Moroni.

The decadence of art.

It may seem strange to those who have visited the picture galleries of Italy, and have noticed how large a number of painters flourished after 1550, that we should have to look upon the last half of the sixteenth century as a period of decadence. This it was, however, in a deep and true sense of the word. The force of the Renaissance was exhausted, and a time of relaxation had to be passed through before the reaction known as the counter-reformation could make itself felt in art. Then, and not till then, a new spiritual impulse produced a new style. This secondary growth of painting began to flourish at Bologna in accordance with fresh laws of taste. Religious sentiments of a different order had to be expressed; society had undergone a change, and the arts were governed by a genuine, if far inferior, inspiration. Meanwhile, the Renaissance in Italy, under the aspect we have been considering, had come to an end. But we have now to retrace our steps, and to take, to some perhaps, a more interesting path through another field, before we reach the same point of view, and see the horizon darkening in every quarter.

XIII.

THE REVIVAL OF VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

THE first and most brilliant age of Italian literature ended with Boccaccio, who traced the lines on which the future labors of the nation were conducted. It was succeeded, as we have seen, by nearly a century of Greek and Latin scholarship. To study the masterpieces of Dante and Petrarch, or to practise their language, was thought beneath the dignity of men like Valla, Poggio, or Pontano. But towards the close of the fifteenth century, chiefly through the influence of Lorenzo de' Medici and his courtiers, a strong interest in the mother tongue revived. The vernacular literature of the Renaissance, therefore, as compared with that of the expiring middle ages, was itself a renascence or revival. It reverted to the models furnished by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, and combined them with the classics, which had for so long a time eclipsed their fame. The nation, educated by scholarship, and brought to a sense of its identity, resumed the vulgar tongue; and what had hitherto been Tuscan now became Italian.

The disuse of the vernacular by scholars.

During the fifteenth century there was an almost complete separation between the cultivated classes and the people. Humanists, intent upon the exploration of the classics,

deemed it below their dignity to use the vulgar tongue. They thought and wrote in Latin, and had no time to bestow upon the education of the common folk. A polite public was formed, who in the courts of princes and the palaces of noblemen amused themselves with the ephemeral literature of pamphlets, essays, and epistles in the Latin tongue. For these well-educated readers Poggio and Pontano wrote their Latin novels. The same learned audience applauded the gladiators of the moment, Valla and Filelfo, when they descended into the arena and plied each other with pseudo-Ciceronian invectives. To quit this refined circle and address the vulgar crowd was thought unworthy of a man of erudition. Only here and there a humanist of the first rank is found who, like Bruni, devoted a portion of his industry to the Italian lives of Dante and Petrarch, or, like Filelfo, lectured on the *Divine Comedy*, or, again, like Landino, composed a Dantesque commentary in the mother tongue. Moreover, Dante and Petrarch passed for almost classical; and, in nearly all such instances of condescension, pecuniary interest swayed the scholar from his wonted orbit. It was want of skill in Latin, rather than love for his own idiom, that induced Vespasiano to pen his lives of great men in Italian. Not spontaneous inspiration, but the whim of a ducal patron, forced Filelfo to use *terza rima* for his worthless poem on S. John, and to write a commentary upon Petrarch in the vernacular.

It affected their critical taste.

This attitude of learned writers produced a curious obtuseness of critical insight. Niccolò dei Niccoli, though a Florentine, called Dante "a poet for bakers and cobblers." Pico della Mirandola preferred Lorenzo de' Medici's verses

to Petrarch. Landino complained—not, indeed, without good reason in that century—that the vulgar language could boast of no great authors. Filippo Villani, in the proem to his biographies, apologized for his father Matteo, who exerted humble faculties to his best ability. Lorenzo de' Medici defended himself for paying attention to an idiom which men of good judgment blamed for "lowness, incapacity, and unworthiness to deal with high themes or grave material." Benedetto Varchi, who lived to be an excellent though somewhat cumbrous writer of Italian prose, gives this account of his early training: "I remember that, when I was a lad, the first and strictest rule of a father to his sons, and of a master to his pupils, was that they should on no account and for no object read anything in the vulgar speech; and Master Guasparre Mariscotti da Marradi, who was my teacher in grammar, a man of hard and rough but pure and excellent manners, having once heard, I know not how, that Schiatta di Bernardo Bagnesi and I were wont to read Petrarch on the sly, gave us a sound rating for it, and nearly expelled us from his school." Some of Varchi's own stylistic pedantries may be attributed to this Latinizing education.

Lorenzo de' Medici and Angelo Poliziano reunited the two currents of Italian literature, plebeian and cultivated, by giving the form of refined art to popular lyrics of divers kinds, to the rustic idyll, and to the sacred drama. Another member of the Medicean circle, Luigi Pulci, aided the same work of restoration by taking up the rude tales of the *Cantori da Piazza*, and producing the first romantic poem of the Renaissance.

"Cantori da Piazza."

The Novella and Idyll.

Of all the numerous forms of literature, three seem to have been specially adapted to the Italians of this period. They were the *Novella*, the Romantic Epic, and the Idyll. With regard to the *Novella* and the Idyll, it is enough in this place to say that we may reckon them indigenous to modern Italy. They suited the temper of the people and the age; the *Novella* furnishing the fit artistic vehicle for Italian realism and objectivity; the Idyll presenting a point of contact with the literature of antiquity, and expressing that calm sensibility to natural beauty which was so marked a feature of the national character amid the distractions of the sixteenth century. The Idyll and the *Novella* formed, moreover, the most precious portion of Boccaccio's legacy.

Romantic Epic.

The Romantic Epic, on the other hand, had no spontaneous origin, but was imported from the French. At first sight the material of the Carolingian Cycle, the romantic tales of Roland and of Charlemagne, which formed the basis of the most considerable narrative poems of the Renaissance, seems uncongenial to the Italians. Feudalism had never taken a firm hold on the country. Chivalry was more a pastime of the upper classes, more consciously artificial, than it had been in France or even England. The interest of the Italians in the Crusades was rather commercial than religious, and the people were not stirred to their centre by the impulse to recover the Holy Sepulchre. The enthusiasm of piety which animated the northern myth of Charlemagne was not characteristic of the race that, earlier than the rest of Europe, had indulged in speculative scepticism and sarcastic raillery; nor were the marvels of the legend

congenial to their positive and practical imagination, turned ever to the beauties of the plastic arts.

It seemed, then, as though the great foreign epics, which had been transported into Italy during the thirteenth century, would find no permanent place in southern literature after the close of the fourteenth. The cultivated classes, in their eagerness to discover and appropriate the ancient authors, lost sight of peer and paladin. Even Boccaccio alluded contemptuously to chivalrous romance, as fit reading only for idle women; and when he attempted an epical poem in octave stanzas, he chose a tale of ancient Greece. Still, in spite of these apparent drawbacks, in spite of learned scorn and polished indifference, the Carolingian Cycle had taken a firm hold upon the popular fancy. A special class of literary craftsmen reproduced its principal episodes in prose and verse for the multitudes gathered on the squares to hear their recitations, or for readers in the workshop and the country farm. Now, in the renascence of the native literature, poets of the highest rank were destined to receive the same material from the people, and to give it a form appropriate to their own culture. This fact must not be forgotten by the student of Pulci, Boiardo, Berni, and Ariosto. The romantic epics of the golden age had a plebeian origin; and the masters of verse who devoted their best energies to that brilliant series of poems were dealing with legends which had taken shape in the imagination of the people, before they applied their own inventive faculties to the task of beautifying them with art unrivalled for splendor and variety of fancy. This, and this alone, explains the anomalies of the Italian

The public interest in romantic tales inspired the poets.

romantic epic—the mixture of burlesque with seriousness, the irony and sarcasm alternating with gravity and pathos, the wealth of comic episodes, the interweaving of extraneous incidents, the antithesis between the professed importance of the subject-matter and the spirit of the poet who plays with it as if he felt its puerility—all the startling contrasts, in a word, which has made this glittering harlequin of art so puzzling to modern critics.

The poets first essayed to put antique subjects into modern dress.

Boccaccio, in his desire to fuse the classic and the mediæval modes of thought and style, not merely adapted the periods of Latin to Italian prose, but also sought to treat an antique subject in the popular measure of the octave stanza. His *Teseide* is a narrative poem, in which the Greek hero plays a prominent part, while all the chiefs of Theban and Athenian legend are brought upon the scene. Yet the main motive is a tale of love, and the language is as modern as need be. Writing to please the mistress of his heart, and emulous of epic fame, Boccaccio rejected the usual apostrophes and envoys of the *Cantori da Banca*, and constructed a poem divided into books. Poliziano approached the problem of fusing the antique and the modern from a different point of view. He adorned a courtly theme of his own day with phrases and decorative details borrowed from the classic authors, presenting in a series of brilliant pictures an epitome of ancient art. It remained for Pulci to develop, without classical admixture, the elements of poetry existing in the popular Italian romances. The *Morgante Maggiore* is, therefore, more thoroughly and purely Tuscan than any work of equal magnitude that had preceded it. This is its

great merit, and this gives it a place apart among the hybrid productions of the Renaissance.

Pulci.

The Pulci were a noble family, reduced in circumstances, and attached to the Casa Medici by ties of political and domestic dependency. The most famous of three brothers was Luigi, whose correspondence with Lorenzo de' Medici proves him to have been a kind of court poet in the palace of the Via Larga, while the sonnets he exchanged with Matteo Franco breathe, in their scurrility and slang, the plebeian spirit of Burchiello, the rhyming barber, whom we need not notice. He had a wild fantastic temperament, inclining to bold speculations on religious topics; tinctured with curiosity that took the form of magic art; bizarre in expression, yet withal so purely Florentine that his prose and verse are a mine of *quattrocento* idioms gathered from the jargon of the streets and squares. Of humanistic culture he seems to have possessed but little. Still, the terms of familiar intercourse on which he lived with Poliziano, Palmieri, and Toscanelli enabled him to gather much of the learning then in vogue. The theological and scientific speculations of the age are transmitted to us in his comic stanzas with a vernacular raciness that renders them doubly interesting.

Boiardo.

Pulci dealt with the Carolingian Cycle in what may be termed a *bourgeois* spirit. Whether humorous or earnest, he maintained the tone of Florentine society; and his *Morgante* reflects the peculiar conditions of the Medicean circle at the date of its composition. The second great poem on the same group of legends, Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, transports us into a very different social and intellectual

atmosphere. The high-born Count of Scandiano, reciting his cantos in the huge square castle surrounded by its moat, which still survives to speak of mediæval Italy in the midst of Ferrara, had but little in common with Luigi Pulci, whose Tuscan fun and satire amused the merchant-princes of the Via Larga. The value of the *Orlando Innamorato* for the student of Italian development is principally this, that it is the most purely chivalrous poem of the Renaissance. Composed before the French invasion, and while the classical revival was still unaccomplished, we find in it an echo of an earlier semi-feudal civility. Unlike the other literary performances of that age, which were produced for the most part by professional humanists, it was the work of a nobleman to whom feats of arms and the chase were familiar, and who disdained the common folk.

His position at Ferrara.

Matteo Maria Boiardo was almost an exact contemporary of Pulci. He was born about 1434 at his hereditary fief of Scandiano, a village seven miles from Reggio at the foot of the Apennines, celebrated for its excellent vineyards. His mother was Lucia Strozzi, a member of the Ferrarese house, connected by descent with the Strozzi of Florence. At the age of twenty-eight he married Taddea Gonzaga, daughter of the Count of Novellara. He lived until 1494, when he died at the same time as Pico and Poliziano, in the year of Charles VIII.'s invasion, two years after the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, and four years before Ficino. These dates are not unimportant, as fixing the exact epoch of Boiardo's literary activity. At the court of Ferrara, where the Count of Scandiano enjoyed the friendship of Duke Borso and Duke Ercole, this bard of chivalry held a position

worthy of his noble rank and his great talents. The princes of the house of Este employed him as ambassador in missions of high trust and honor. He also administered for them the government of Reggio and Modena, their two chief subject cities. As a ruler he was celebrated for his clemency and for his indifference to legal formalities.

His literary works.

Well versed in Greek and Latin literature, he translated into Italian Herodotus, parts of Xenophon, the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius, and the *Ass* of Lucian. He also versified Lucian's *Timon* for the stage, and wrote Latin poems of fair merit. His lyrics, addressed to Antonia Caprara, prove that, like Lorenzo de' Medici, he was capable of following the path of Petrarch without falling into Petrarchistic mannerism. But his literary fame depends less upon these minor works than on the *Orlando Innamorato*, a masterpiece of inventive genius which furnished Ariosto with the theme of the *Orlando Furioso*. Without the *Innamorato* the *Furioso* is meaningless. The handling and structure of the romance, the characters of the heroes and heroines, the conception of love and arms as the double theme of romantic poetry, the interpolation of *novelle* in the manner of Boccaccio, and the magic machinery by which the poem is conducted are due to the originality of Boiardo. Ariosto adopted his plot, continued the story where he left it, and brought it to a close; so that, taken together, both poems form one gigantic narrative of about 100,000 lines, which has for its subject the love and the marriage of Ruggiero and Bradamante, mythical progenitors of the Estensi. Yet because the style of Boiardo is rough and provincial, while that of Ariosto is by all consent

"divine," Boiardo has been almost forgotten by posterity.

Ariosto.

Ariosto's family was ancient and of honorable station in the Duchy of Ferrara. His father, Nicolò, held offices of trust under Ercole I., and in the year 1472 was made Governor of Reggio, where he acquired property and married. His wife Daria Maleguzzi, gave birth at Reggio in 1474 to their first-born, Lodovico, the poet. At Reggio the boy spent seven years of childhood, removing with his father in 1481 to Rovigo. His education appears to have been carried on at Ferrara, where he learnt Latin but no Greek. This ignorance of Greek literature placed him, like Machiavelli, somewhat at a disadvantage among men of culture in an age that set great store upon the knowledge of both ancient languages. He was destined for a legal career, but, like Petrarch and Boccaccio, after spending some useless years in uncongenial studies, Lodovico prevailed upon his father to allow him to follow his strong bent for literature. In 1500 Nicolò died, leaving a family of five sons and five daughters, with property sufficient for the honor of his house but scarcely adequate to the needs of his numerous children.

Lodovico, therefore, found himself, at the age of twenty-six, in the position of father to nine brothers and sisters, for whose education, start in life, and suitable settlement he was called upon to arrange. The administration of his father's estate, and the cares thus early thrust upon him, made the poet an exact man of business, and brought him acquainted with real life under its most serious aspects. He discharged his duties with prudence and fidelity, managing by

economy to provide portions for his sisters and honorable maintenance for his brothers out of their joint patrimony.

His official engagements.

The first three years after his father's death were spent by Ariosto in the neighborhood of Reggio, and to this period of his life we may perhaps refer some of the love affairs celebrated in his Latin poems. He held the captaincy of Canossa, a small sinecure involving no important duties, since the castle of Canossa was even in those days a ruin. In 1503 he entered the service of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, with whom he remained until 1517. He was placed upon the list of the cardinal's extraordinary servants, to be employed in matters of confidence and delicacy, involving frequent journeys to all parts of Italy and ceremonial embassies. Ippolito urged him to take orders, with a view to his pecuniary advantage, but Ariosto refused to enter a state of life for which he felt no vocation. That Ippolito did not share the prevailing enthusiasm of his age for literary culture, seems pretty clear, and he failed to discover the unique genius of the man whom he had chosen for his confidential agent. It was not until their final rupture, caused by Ariosto's refusal to undertake the Hungarian expedition in his master's train, that the true greatness of the author of the *Furioso* was revealed. How should a dissolute and ill-conditioned cardinal have discerned that a dreamy poem in manuscript on the madness of Orlando would live as long as the *Æneid*, or that the flattering lies of his attendant would in after-ages turn the fierce glare of criticism and celebrity upon the darkest corners of his own history? We know, however, that he defrayed

the expenses of its publication, and reserved the right and profits of its sale to Ariosto.

The *Orlando Furioso* was conceived and begun in the year 1505. It was sent to press in 1515; Giovanni Mazzochi del Bondeno published it in April, 1516. In 1518, having freed himself from Ippolito's bondage, Ariosto entered the service of Duke Alfonso I. He occupied his own house in Ferrara; and the Duke, who recognized his great literary qualities and appreciated the new lustre conferred upon his family by the publication of the *Furioso*, left him in the undisturbed possession of his leisure. The next four years were probably the happiest of Ariosto's life, for he had now at last secured independence and had entered upon the enjoyment of his fame. The Medici of Florence and Rome, and the ducal families of Urbino and Mantua, were pleased to number him among their intimate friends, and he received flattering acknowledgments of his poem from the most illustrious men of Italy.

His enjoyment of honors at Ferrara.

The few journeys he made at the request of Alfonso carried him to Florence, the head-quarters of literary and artistic activity. At home, the time he spared from the revision of the *Furioso* was partly devoted to the love affairs he carried on with jealous secrecy, and partly to the superintendence of the ducal theatre. The composition of comedies amused him from his boyhood to his latest years. So early as 1493 he had accompanied Ercole I. to Pavia in order to play before Lodovico Sforza, and in the same year he witnessed the famous representation of the *Menæchmi* at Ferrara. Some of his earliest essays in literature were translations of

His comedies produced at Ferrara and Rome.

Latin comedies, now unfortunately lost. They were intended for representation, and, as exercises in the playwright's art, they strongly influenced his style. His own *Cassaria* appeared for the first time at Ferrara in 1508; the *Suppositi* followed in 1509, and was reproduced at the Vatican in 1519. It took Leo's fancy so much that he besought the author for another comedy. Ariosto, in compliance with this request, completed the *Negromante*, which he had already had in hand during the previous ten years. The *Lena* was first represented at Ferrara in 1528, and the *Scolastica* was left unfinished at the poet's death. What part Ariosto took in the presentation of his comedies is uncertain; but it is probable that he helped in their performance, besides directing the stage and reciting the prologue. He thus acquired a practical acquaintance with theatrical management, and it was by his advice, and on plans furnished by him, that Alfonso built the first permanent stage at Ferrara in 1532. On the last day of that year, not long after its erection, the theatre was burned down. These dates are important, since they prove that Ariosto's connection with the stage as actor, playwright, and manager was continuous throughout his lifetime.

His official banishment to the country.

Ariosto's peaceful occupations at Ferrara were interrupted early in 1522 by a strange episode in his career. He was nominated Ducal Commissary for the government of Garfagnana, a wild upland district stretching under Monte Pellegrino almost across the Apennines, from the Lucchese to the Modenese frontiers. Nothing but necessity would probably have induced Ariosto to quit Ferrara for the intolerable seclusion of those bar-

barous mountains, where it was his duty to issue edicts against brigands, to see that the hangman did his duty, and to sit in judgment daily upon suits that proved the savage immorality of the entire population. The hopelessness of the task might have been enough to break a sterner heart than Ariosto's, and his loathing of his life at Castelnovo found vent in the most powerful of his satires. He managed to endure this uncongenial existence for three years, from February 20, 1522, till June, 1525, sustaining his spirits with correspondence and composition, and varying the monotony of his life by visits to Ferrara. It was during this time, probably, that he composed the *Cinque Centi.*

His return to Ferrara, marriage, and death.

The last eight years of his life were spent in great tranquillity at Ferrara. About this time he married the lady to whom for many years he had been tenderly attached. She was the Florentine Alessandra Benucci, widow of Tito Strozzi, whom he first saw at Florence in the year 1513. The marriage was kept strictly secret, probably because the poet did not choose to relinquish the income he derived from certain minor benefices. Nor did it prove fruitful of offspring, for he left no legitimate heirs. Between the year 1525, when he left Garfagnana, and 1532, when his poem issued from the press, he devoted himself with unceasing labor to its revision and improvement. The edition of 1516 consisted of forty cantos. That of 1532 contained forty-six, and the whole text had been subjected in the interval to minute alterations. Not long after the publication of the revised edition Ariosto's health gave way. His constitution had never been robust, for he suffered continually from a catarrh of the lungs,

which made his old life with Ippolito d'Este not only distasteful, but dangerous. Towards the close of 1532 this complaint took the form of consumption, which ended his days on June 6, 1533.

His satires.

Next to the *Orlando Furioso* Ariosto's *Satires* have the highest value for the light they cast upon his temperament and mode of feeling. Though they are commonly called Satires, they rather deserve the name of Epistles; for while a satiric element gives a distinct flavor to each of the seven poems, this is subordinated to personal and familiar topics of correspondence. The poet of the *Orlando* was not great in lyric verse. His minor compositions show his mastery of simple and perspicuous style; but the specific qualities of his best work, its color and imagery and pointed humor, are absent.

The Novella.

Of Boccaccio's legacy the most considerable portion, and the one that bore the richest fruit, was the *Decameron*. During the sixteenth century the *Novella*, as he shaped it, continued to be a popular and widely-practised form of literature. In Italy the keynote of the Renaissance was struck by the *Novella*, as in England by the drama. Nor is this predominance of what must be reckoned a subordinate branch of fiction altogether singular; for the *Novella* was in a special sense adapted to the taste of a public, which, during the time of the despots, grew up in Italy. Since the fourteenth century the conditions of social life had undergone a thorough revolution. Under the influence of dynastic rulers stationed in great cities, merchants and manufacturers rose to the level of the old nobility; and in commonwealths like Florence the *bourgeoisie* gave their tone to society.

At the same time the community thus formed was separated from the people by the bar of humanistic culture. Literature felt the social transformation. Its products were shaped to suit the tastes of the middle classes, and at the same time to amuse the leisure of the aristocracy. The *Novella* was the natural outcome of these circumstances. Its qualities and its defects alike betray the ascendency of the *bourgeois* element.

The character of the Novella.

The term *Novella* requires definition, lest the thing in question should be confounded with our modern novel. Although they bear the same name, these species have less in common than might be supposed. Both, indeed, are narratives; but while the novel is a history extending over a considerable space of time, embracing a complicated tissue of events, and necessitating a study of character, the *Novella* is invariably brief and sketchy. It does not aim at presenting a detailed picture of human life within certain artistically chosen limitations, but confines itself to a striking situation, or tells an anecdote illustrative of some moral quality. This is shown by the headings of the sections into which Italian *Novellieri* divided their collections. We read such rubrics as the following: "On the magnanimity of princes," "Concerning those who have been fortunate in love," "Of sudden changes from prosperity to evil fortune," "The guiles of women practised on their husbands." A theme is proposed, and the *Novelle* are intended to exemplify it.

They were adapted to recitation.

Furthermore, the *Novelle* were composed for the amusement of mixed companies, who met together and passed their time in conversa-

tion. All the *Novellieri* pretend that their stories were originally recited and then written down; nor is there the least doubt that in a large majority of cases they were really read aloud or improvised upon occasions similar to those invented by their authors. These circumstances determined the length and ruled the mechanism of the *Novella*. It was impossible, within the short space of a spoken tale, to attempt any minute analysis of character, or to weave the meshes of a complicated plot. The narrator went straight to his object, which was to arrest the attention, stimulate the curiosity, gratify the sensual instincts, excite the laughter, or stir the tender emotions of his audience by some fantastic, voluptuous, comic, or pathetic incident.

Bandello.

Matteo Bandello's life was itself a *Novella*. The scion of a noble house, early dedicated to the Order of S. Dominic, but with the general of that order for his uncle, he enjoyed rare opportunities of studying men and women in all parts of Europe. His good abilities and active mind enabled him to master the essentials of scholarship, and introduced him when at Mantua, where a considerable portion of his manhood was passed, as tutor to Lucrezia Gonzaga, one of the most fascinating and learned women of his age. These privileges he put to use by carrying on a courtly flirtation with his interesting pupil, at the same time that he penned his celebrated novels. Misfortunes overtook him in 1525, when French and Spaniards contested the Duchy of Milan; but after numerous adventures he found protection at the court of France. In 1550 Henry II. conferred upon him the See of Agen, where he died about ten years afterwards, when Europe

was ringing with the scandal of his too licentious tales. These tales furnished the reformers with a weapon in their war against the Church; nor would it have been easy to devise one better suited to their purpose. Even now it moves astonishment to think that a monk should have written, and a bishop should have published, the *facetiæ* with which Bandello's books are filled.

Grazzini.

The author of *Le Cene* presents a marked contrast to Bandello. Antonfrancesco Grazzini belonged to an ancient and honorable family of Staggia in Valdelsa. Born at Florence in 1503, he was matriculated into the *Speziali*, and followed the profession of a druggist. The sobriquet Il Lasca, or the Roach, assumed by him as a member of the Umidi, is the name by which he is best known. Besides *Novelle*, he wrote comedies and poems, and made the renowned collection of *Canti Carnascialeschi*. He died in 1583 and was buried in S. Pier Maggiore. Thus, while Bandello might claim to be a citizen of the great world, reared in the ecclesiastical purple, and conversant with the noblest society of Northern Italy, Il Lasca began life and ended it as a Florentine burgher. His stories are written in the raciest Tuscan idiom, and are redolent of the humor peculiar to Florence. If Bandello appropriated the romantic element in Boccaccio, Il Lasca chose his comic side for imitation. Nearly all his novels turn on *beffe* and *burle*, similar to those sketched in Sacchetti's anecdotes, or developed with greater detail by Pulci and the anonymous author of *Il Grasso* and *Legnaiuolo*. Still the specific note of Il Lasca's novels is not pure fun. He combines obscenity with fierce carnal cruelty and inhuman jesting, in a mixture that speaks but ill for the taste of the time.

Agnolo Firenzuola and Antonfrancesco Doni may be mentioned among the more graceful of the Tuscan novelists; and it will suffice to allude briefly to three collections which in their day were highly popular. These are *I Proverbi* of Antonio Cornazano, *La Piacevoli Notti* of Straparola, and Giraldi's *Hecatommithi*. Cornazano was a copious writer both in Latin and Italian. He passed his life at the courts of Francesco Sforza, Bartolommeo Colleoni, and Ercole I. of Ferrara. One of his earliest compositions was a Life of Christ. This fact is not insignificant, as a sign of the conditions under which literature was produced in the Renaissance. A man who had gained reputation by a learned or religious treatise ventured to extend it by jests of the broadest humor. The *Proverbi*, by which alone Cornazano's name is now distinguished, are sixteen carefully wrought stories, very droll but very dirty. Each illustrates a common proverb, and pretends to relate the circumstances which gave it currency. The author opens one tale with a simple statement: "From the deserts of the Thebaid came to us that trite and much-used saying, *Better late than never*, and this was how it happened." Having stated the theme, he enters on his narrative, diverting attention by a series of absurdities which lead to an unexpected climax. He concludes it thus: "The Abbot answered: 'It is not this that makes me weep, but to think of my misfortune to have been so long without discovering and commending so excellent a usage.' 'Father,' said the monk, '*Better late than never*.'" There is considerable comic vigor in the working of this motive. One sense of the ridiculous is stimulated by a studied dis-

Firenzuola and Doni.

Cornazano.

proportion between the universality of the proverb and the strangeness of the incidents invented to account for it.

Straparola.

Straparola breaks ground in a different direction. The majority of his novels bear traces of their origin in fairy stories. Much interest attaches to the *Piacevoli Notti*, as the literary reproduction of a popular species which the Venetian Gozzi afterwards rendered famous. The element of bizarre fancy is remarkable in all these tales; but the marvellous has been so mingled with the facts of common life as to give each narrative the true air of the conventional *Novella*.

Giraldi Cinthio.

On the score of style alone it would be difficult to explain the widespread popularity of Giraldi Cinthio's one hundred and ten tales. The *Hecatommithi* are written in a lumbering manner, and the stories are often lifeless. Compared with the brilliancy of the Tuscan *Novelle*, the point and sparkle of *Le Cene*, the grace and gusto of Sermini, or Firenzuola's golden fluency, the diction of this noble Ferrarese is dull. Yet the *Hecatommithi* was reprinted again and again, and translated into several languages. In England, through Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, they obtained wide circulation, and supplied our best dramatists, including Shakespeare and Fletcher, with hints for plays. If we put the point of style aside, the vogue of Cinthio in Italy and Europe becomes at once intelligible. There is a massive force and volume in his matter which proclaims him an author to be reckoned with. The variety of scenes he represents, the tragic gravity of many of his motives, his intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs of a class that never fails to interest the vulgar, combined with great

sagacity in selecting and multiplying instances of striking crime, stood him in the stead of finer art with the special public for whom *Novelle* were composed. Compared even with Boccaccio, the prince of story-tellers, Cinthio holds his own, not as a great dramatic or descriptive writer, but as one who has studied, analyzed, and digested the material of human action and passion in a vast variety of modes. His work is more solid and reflective than Bandello's; more moralized than Il Lasca's. The ethical tendency, both of the tales and the discussions they occasion, is for the most part singularly wholesome.

The Drama.

Contemporaneously with the romantic epic, the drama began to be a work of studied art in Italy. Boiardo, by his *Timone*, and Poliziano, by his *Orfeo*, gave the earliest specimens at Ferrara and Mantua of secular plays written in the vulgar tongue. It is significant that the two poets who were mainly instrumental in effecting a revival of Italian poetry should have tried their hands at two species of composition for the stage. In the *Orfeo* we find a direct outgrowth from the *Sacre Rappresentazioni*. The form of the Florentine religious shows is adapted with very little alteration to a pagan story. In substance the *Orfeo* is a pastoral melodrama with a tragic climax. Boiardo, in the *Timone*, followed a different course. The subject is borrowed from Lucian, who speaks the prologue, as Gower prologizes in the *Pericles* of Shakespeare. The comedy aims at regularity of structure and is written in *terza rima*.

Trissino.

The first regular Italian tragedy was the *Sofonisba* of Gian Giorgio Trissino, finished in 1515, and six times printed before the date of its first

representation at Vicenza in 1562. Trissino was a man of immense erudition and laborious intellect, who devoted himself to questions of grammatical and literary accuracy, studying the critics of antiquity with indefatigable diligence, and seeking to establish canons for the regulation of correct Italian composition. He was by no means deficient in originality of aim, and professed himself the pioneer of novelties in poetry. Thus, besides innovating in the minor matter of orthography, he set himself to supply the deficiencies of Italian literature by producing an epic in the heroic style, and a tragedy that should compare with those of Athens. The *Italia Liberata* and the *Sofonisba*, meritorious but lifeless exercises which lacked nothing but the genius for poetry, were the result of these ambitious theories. Without mentioning the essays of other writers, it may be said that the failure of Italian tragedy was inseparable from its artificial origin. It was the conscious product of cultivated persons who aimed at nothing nobler than the imitation of the ancients and the observance of inapplicable rules.

Rucellai.

Numerous scholars entered the lists in competition with Trissino. Giovanni Rucellai produced his *Rosmunda* almost contemporaneously with the *Sofonisba*, and it was acted before Leo X. in the Rucellai gardens upon the occasion of a papal visit to Florence. The chief merit of *Rosmunda* is brevity. But it has the fatal fault of being a story told in scenes and dialogues—not an action moving and expanding through a series of connected incidents.

Sperone.

His defects culminate in Speron Sperone's *Canace*. The tale is horrible, and the situations show how little of dramatic

genius Sperone brought to bear upon the hideous theme he had selected.

Their comedies were originally translations.

The humanistic influences of the fifteenth century were scarcely less unpropitious to national comedy at its outset than they had been to tragedy. We may note this fact with regret, since it helped to deprive the Italians of a national theatre. We find that, at the close of that century, it was common to recite the plays of Plautus and Terence in their original language, though later on they were translated into Italian for the amusement of an audience unacquainted with ancient languages. The transition from Latin to Italian comedy was effected almost simultaneously by Bernardo Dovizio, Ariosto, and Machiavelli.

Dovizio.

With regard to Dovizio, who was born at Bibbiena in 1470, it is enough to say that his *Calandra*, which raised him to a foremost place among the literary men of Italy, was composed before his elevation to the dignity of cardinal, and was first performed at Urbino, possibly in 1508. From Urbino the comedy passed through all the courts of Italy, finding the highest favor at Rome, where Leo more than once decreed its representation.

Leo's patronage of the drama.

Leo had an insatiable appetite for scenic shows. Comedies of the new Latinizing style were his favorite recreation. But he also invited the Sienese company of the Rozzi, who only played farces, every year to Rome; nor was he averse to even less artistic buffoonery, as may be gathered from many of the stories told about him. In 1513 Leo opened a theatre upon the Capitol, and here in 1519, surrounded with two thousand spectators, he witnessed an exhibition of Ariosto's *Suppositi*. We

have a description of the scene from the pen of an eye-witness, who relates how the Pope sat at the entrance to the gallery leading into the theatre, and admitted with his benediction those whom he thought worthy of partaking in the night's amusement. When the house was full, he took his throne in the orchestra, and sat, with eye-glass in hand, to watch the play. Raphael had painted the scenery, which is said to have been, and doubtless was, extremely beautiful. Leo's behavior scandalized the foreign ambassadors, who thought it indecorous that a Pope should not only listen to the equivocal jests of the prologue, but also laugh immoderately at them. As usual, the inter-acts consisted of vocal and instrumental concerts, with ballets on classical and allegorical subjects.

Ariosto's plays.

The mention of Leo's entertainment in 1519 introduces the subject of Ariosto's plays. The *Suppositi*, originally written in prose and afterwards versified by its author, first appeared in 1509 at Ferrara. In the preceding year he exhibited the *Cassario*, which, like the *Suppositi*, was planned in prose and subsequently versified in *sdrucciolo* iambics. Not to mention others, it may be remarked that the artistic merit of Ariosto's comedies is the perfection of their structure. However involved the intrigues may be, we experience no difficulty in following them, so masterly is their development. The characters are drawn with that ripe insight into human nature which distinguished Ariosto. The *Lena* has the highest value as a picture of Ferrarese society. We have good reason to believe that it was founded on an actual incident. It deserves to rank with Machiavelli's *Mandragola* and Aretino's *Cortigiana* for the light it throws on sixteenth-century

customs. And the light is far more natural, less lurid, less partial, than that which either Machiavelli or Aretino shed upon the vices of their century.

Machiavelli's comedies.

Of Machiavelli we have two genuine comedies in prose, the *Mandragola* and the *Clizia*, and two of doubtful authenticity, called respectively *Commedia in Prosa* and *Commedia in Versi*, besides a translation of the *Andria*. In the comedy of *Mandragola* Machiavelli puts forth all his strength. Sinister and repulsive as it may be to modern tastes, its power is indubitable. More than any plays of which mention has been made, more even than Ariosto's *Lena* and *Negromante*, it detaches itself from Latin precedents, and offers an unsophisticated view of Florentine life from its author's terrible point of contemplation.

The character of Pietro Aretino.

Something more must be said of Pietro Aretino than that he completed the disengagement of Italian from Latin comedy. He was remarkable in more ways than as merely distinguished in Italian literature. Base in character, coarse in mental fibre, unworthy to rank among real artists, notwithstanding his undoubted genius, Pietro Aretino was the typical ruffian of an age which brought ruffianism to perfection, welcomed it when successful, bowed to its insolence, and viewed it with complacent toleration in the highest places of Church, State, and letters. He was the *condottiere* of the pen in a society which truckled to the Borgias. He incarnated the dissolution of Italian culture. It is the condemnation of Italy that we are forced to give this prominence to Aretino. If we place Poliziano or Guicciardini, Bembo or La Casa, Bandello or Firen-

zuola, Cellini or Berni, Paolo Giovio or Lodovico Dolce —typical men of letters chosen from the poets, journalists, historians, artists, novel-writers—under the critical microscope, we find in each and all of them a tincture of Pietro Aretino. It is because he emphasizes and brings into relief one master element of the Renaissance.

His merit as an author.

As an author it was no vain boast that he trusted only to nature and mother-wit. His intellectual distinction consisted precisely in this confidence and self-reliance, at a moment when the literary world was given over to pedantic scruples and the formalities of academical prescription. Writing without the fear of pedagogues before his eyes—seeking, as he says, relief, expression, force, and brilliancy of phrase, he produced a manner at once singular and attractive, which turned to ridicule the pretensions of the purists. He had the courage of his personality, and stamped upon his style the very form and pressure of himself. The originality of his *Ars Poetica* took the world by surprise. His Italian audience delighted in the sparkle of a style that gave point to their common speech. Had Aretino been a writer of genius Italy might now have owed to his audacity and self-reliance the starting-point of national dramatic art. He was on the right path, but he lacked the skill to tread it. His comedies, loosely put together, with no constructive vigor in their plots and no grasp of psychology in their characters, are a series of powerfully-written scenes, piquant dialogues, and effective situations rather than comedies in the higher sense of the word.

It would be difficult to render an account of the comedies produced by the Italians in the sixteenth century, or to catalogue their authors. A computation has been made which reckons the plays known to students at several thousands. In spite of this extraordinary richness in comic literature, Italy cannot boast of a great comedy. No poet arose to carry the art onward from the point already reached when Aretino left the stage. The neglect that fell on those innumerable comedies was not wholly undeserved. It is true that their scenes suggested brilliant episodes to French and English playwrights of celebrity. It is true that the historian of manners finds in them an almost inexhaustible store of matter. Still they are literary lucubrations rather than the spontaneous expression of a vivid nationality. Nor have they the subordinate merit of dealing in a scientific spirit with the cardinal vices and follies of society. We miss the original plots, the powerful modelling of character, the philosophical insight, which would have reconciled us to a *Commedia erudita*.

The fecundity but unoriginality of the playwrights.

The transition from the middle ages to the Renaissance was marked by a new ideal, which we have now to notice, as it in no slight measure affected Italian literature. The faiths and aspirations of Catholicism, whereof the *Divine Comedy* remains the monument in art, began to lose their hold on the imagination. The world beyond the grave grew dim to mental vision, in proportion as this world, through humanism rediscovered, claimed daily more attention. Neither the expectation of heavenly bliss nor the fear

The reversion from the Catholic to a new ideal of life.

of purgatorial pain was felt with that intense sincerity which inspired Dante's cantos and Orcagna's frescoes. On both emotions the new culture, appearing at one moment as a solvent through philosophical speculation, at another as a corrosive in the sceptical and critical activity it stimulated, was acting with destructive energy. Thus it happened that the sensibilities of men athirst for some consoling fancy took refuge in the dream of a past happy age. On one side the ideal was purely literary, reflecting the artistic instincts of a people enthusiastic for form, and affording scope for their imitative activity; but, on the other side, it corresponded to a deep and genuine Italian feeling. That sympathy with rustic life, that love of nature humanized by industry, that delight in the villa, the garden, the vineyard and the grove, which modern Italians inherited from their Roman ancestors, gave reality to what might otherwise have been but artificial. Vespasiano's anecdotes of Cosimo de' Medici pruning his own fruit-trees; Ficino's description of the village feasts at Montevecchio; Flamminio's picture of his Latin farm; Alberti's tenderness in gazing at the autumn fields—all these have the ring of genuine emotion. For men who felt like this, the Age of Gold was no mere fiction and Arcady a land of possibilities.

The Idyll.

What has been well called *la voluttà idillica*—the sensuous sensibility to beauty, finding fit expression in the idyll—formed a marked characteristic of Renaissance art and literature. Boccaccio developed this idyllic motive in all his works which dealt with the origins of society. Poliziano and Lorenzo devoted their best poetry to the praise of rural bliss, the

happiness of shepherd folk anterior to life in cities. The same theme recurs in the Latin poems of the humanists. It pervades the clergy, the ode, the sonnet, and takes to itself the chief honors of the drama. A literary Eldorado had been discovered which was destined to attract explorers through the next three centuries. Arcadia became the wonder-world of noble youths and maidens, at Madrid no less than at Ferrara, in Elizabeth's London and in Marie Antoinette's Versailles. After engaging the genius of Tasso and Guarini, Spenser and Sidney, it degenerated into quaint conventionality. Companions of Turenne and Marlborough told tales of pastoral love to maids of honor near the throne. Frederick's and Maria Theresa's courtiers simpered and sighed like Dresden-china swains and shepherdesses. Crooked sticks with ribbons at the top were a fashionable appendage to red-heeled shoes and powdered perukes. Few phenomena in history are more curious than the prolonged prosperity and widespread fascination of this Arcadian romance.

Sannazzaro.

To Jacopo Sannazzaro belongs the glory of having first explored Arcadia, mapped out its borders, and called it after his own name. He is the Columbus of this visionary hemisphere. His ancestors claim to have been originally Spaniards, settled in a village of Pavia called S. Nazzaro, whence they took their name. The poet's immediate forefather was said to have followed Charles of Durezzo in 1380 to the south of Italy, where he received fiefs and lands in the Basilicata. Jacopo was born at Naples in 1458, and, as a youth, made such rapid progress in both Greek and Latin scholarship as soon to be found worthy of admission to Pontano's academy. The friendship be-

tween the master and pupil lasted without interruption up to the time of the death of the former in 1503. Their Latin poems abound in passages which testify to a strong mutual regard, and the life-size effigies of both may still be seen together in the church of Monte Oliveto at Naples. Distinction in scholarship was, after the days of Alfonso the Magnanimous, a sure title to consideration at the Neapolitan court. Sannazzaro attached himself to the person of Frederick, the second son of Ferdinand I ; and when this prince succeeded to the throne he conferred upon the poet a pension and the pleasant villa of Mergoglino between the city and Posilippo. When Frederick was forced to retire to France in 1501, Sannazzaro accompanied his royal master into exile, only returning to Naples after the ex-king's death. There Sannazzaro continued to reside until his own death in 1530, after seeing the destruction of his villa during the occupation of Naples by the Imperial troops under the Prince of Orange. The *Arcadia* was begun at Nocera in his youth, continued during his residence in France, and finished on his return to Naples. The book blends autobiography and fable in a narrative of very languid interest. Loose in construction and uncertain in aim, it lacks the clearness and consistency of perfect art. And yet it is a masterpiece ; because its author, led by present instinct, contrived to make it reflect one of the deepest and most permanent emotions of his time. The whole pastoral ideal—the yearning after a golden age, the beauty and pathos of the country, the felicity of simple folk, the details of rustic life, the charm of woods and gardens, the mythology of Pan and Satyrs, of nymphs and fauns —all this is expressed in a series of pictures idyllically

graceful and artistically felt. For English students the *Arcadia* has a special interest, since it begot the longer and more ambitious work of Sir Philip Sidney.

Pontano.

In Pontano, again, the southern people found a voice which, though it uttered a dead language—for his most important contributions to Italian literature were in Latin—expressed all their sentiments. Though a native of Coneto in Umbria, Pontano passed his life at Naples, and became, if we may trust the evidence of his lyrics, more Neapolitan than the Neapolitans. The cardinal point in Pontano is the breadth of his feeling. He touches the whole scale of natural emotions with equal passion and sincerity. The love of the young man for his sweetheart, the love of the husband for his bride, the love of a father for his offspring, the love of a nurse for her infant charge, find in his verse the same full sensuous expression. His poems may be read with no less profit for their pictures of Neapolitan life. He brings the Baths of Baiæ, unspoiled as yet by the eruption of Monte Nuovo, vividly before us; the myrtle-groves and gardens by the bay; the sailors stretched along the shore; the youths and maidens flirting as they bathe or drink the waters, their evening walks, their little dinners, their assignations—all the round of pleasure in a place and climate made for love. Or we watch the people at their games, crowded together on those high-built carts, rattling the tambourine and spurring the dancers of the tarantella—as near to fauns and nymphs as humanity may well be.

Molza.

It is impossible in a limited space to render any adequate account of the bucolic idylls, and we can well afford to turn in silence from the common crowd of eclogue writers. Yet one emerges

from the rank and file who deserves particular attention. Born at Modena in 1489, Francesco Maria Molza stands foremost in his own day among scholars of ripe erudition and artists of accomplished skill. His high birth, his genial conversation, his loves and self-inflicted misfortunes, alike brought him distinction, while his *Ninfa Tiburina* is still the sweetest pastoral of the golden age. Yet the brilliance of his literary fame, and the affection felt for him by men of note in every part of Italy, will not distract attention from the ignobility of his career. Faithless to his wife, neglectful of his children, continually begging money from his father, he passed his manhood in a series of amours. The poem we have mentioned was composed in honor of a Roman courtesan, so famous for her beauty and fine breeding as to attract the sympathy of even austere natures. When she died, the town went into mourning and the streets echoed with elegiac lamentations. It is curious that among Michael Angelo's sonnets should be found one—not, however, of the best—written upon this occasion Between 1523 and 1525, he passed two years in the society of a more illustrious companion—the beautiful and witty Camilla Gonzaga. After again returning to Rome he shared in the miseries of the sack, which made so doleful an impression on his mind that, saddened for the time, he returned like the prodigal to his home in Mantua. Rome, however, although not destined to regain the splendor she had lost, shook off the dust and blood of 1527; and there were competent observers who, like Aretino, thought her still more reckless in vice than she had been before. Molza could not long resist these attractions. We find him there again in 1529, attached to the person of Cardinal

Ippolito de' Medici, and delighting the academies with his wit. Two years afterwards his father and mother died on successive days of August, and he celebrated their deaths in one of the most lovely of his many sonnets. But his ill life, and obstinate refusal to settle at Modena, had disinherited him, and henceforth he lived upon his son Camillo's bounty. At last, after suffering for some years from a malady brought on by his dissolute course of life, he crawled back to Modena, where he died in February, 1544, offering to the world, as his biographer is careful to assure us, a rare example of Christian resignation and devotion. All the men of the Renaissance died in the odor of piety.

We have now briefly traced the pastoral ideal from its commencement in Boccaccio, through the *Arcadia* of Sannazzaro and the *Orfeo* of Poliziano, up to the point when it was destined soon to find its perfect form in the *Aminta* and the *Pastor Fido*. Both Tasso and Guarini lived beyond the chronological limits of our survey. Yet we must give a passing notice to two poems which combined the drama and the pastoral idyll in works of art no less characteristic of the time than fruitful of results for European literature.

The culmination of pastoral drama.

Torquato Tasso, born at Sorrento in 1544, became, at the age of eighteen, more famous than his father, Bernardo, who, amid journeys, campaigns, and miscellaneous court duties, had produced sonnets, odes and epithalamial hymns which placed him among the foremost lyrists of his time. Torquato, like so many youths of good family, as we have seen, was educated for the legal profession. He was soon, however, in the luxurious court of Ferrara, at which we find

Tasso.

him, in 1565, in the suite of Cardinal Louis d'Este, able to follow the bent of his genius. With regard to his play of *Aminta*, it would be a mistake to suppose that, because the form of the Arcadian romance was artificial, it could not lend itself to the presentation of real passion when adapted to the theatre. Though Battista Guarini. Guarini's *Pastor Fido* is the more carefully constructed plot of the two, they both present a series of emotional situations, developed with refined art and expressed with lyrical abundance. The rustic fable is but a veil through which the everlasting lineaments of love are shown. Of the music and beauty of these two dramas it is difficult to speak. Before some masterpieces criticism bends in silence. We cannot describe what must be felt. All the melodies that had been growing through two centuries in Italy are concentrated in their songs. The idyllic voluptuousness which permeated literature and art steeps their pictures in a golden glow. They complete and close the Renaissance, bequeathing in a new species of art its form and pressure to succeeding generations.

The classic model thought to be essential.

We have now seen that the awakened consciousness of the Italic people showed itself first in the creation of a learned literature, imitating as closely as possible in a dead language the models recovered from ancient Rome. It was not enough to appropriate the matter of the Latin authors. Their form had to be assimilated and reproduced. These pioneers in scholarship believed that the vulgar tongue, with its divergent dialects, had ever been and still remained incapable of higher culture. The refined diction of Cicero and Virgil was for them a separate and superior speech, consecrated

by infallible precedent, and no less serviceable for modern than it had been formerly for antique usage. Recovering the style of the Augustan age, they thought they would possess an instrument of utterance adapted to their present needs and correlated to the living language of the people, as it had been in the age of Roman greatness.

It is discarded for a modern form.

With the cessation of the first enthusiasm for antique culture, the claims of vernacular Italian came to be recognized. No other modern nation had produced masterpieces equal to those of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. The self-esteem of the Italians could not suffer the exclusion of the *Divine Comedy*, the *Canzoniere*, and the *Decameron* from the rank of classics. Men of delicate perception, like Alberti and Lorenzo de' Medici, felt that the honors of posterity would fall to the share of those who cultivated and improved their mother tongue. Thus the earlier position of the humanists was recognized as false. Could not their recent acquisitions be carried over to the account and profit of the vernacular? A common Italian language, based upon the Tuscan, but modified for general usage, was now practised in accordance with the rules and objects of the scholars. It was thus that the masterpieces of *cinque cento* literature came into being—the *Orlando* and the comedies of Ariosto, Machiavelli's histories and Sannazzaro's *Arcadia*, the *Gerusalemme* of Tasso and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*—together with the multitudinous and multifarious work of lesser craftsmen in prose and verse.

XIV.

THE CATHOLIC REACTION.

THE Papacy, after the ending of the schism and the settlement of Nicholas V. at Rome in 1547, gradually tended to become an Italian sovereignty. During the residence of the Popes at Avignon, and the weakness of the Papal See which followed in the period of the Councils (Pisa, Constance, and Basle), it had lost its hold, not only on the immediate neighborhood of Rome, but also on its outlying possessions in Umbria, the Marches of Ancona, and the Exarchate of Ravenna. The great houses of Colonna and Orsini asserted independence in their principalities. Bologna and Perugia pretended to republican governments under the shadow of noble families, and all the other great cities obeyed the rule of tyrants who were practically their lords, though they bore the title of Papal Vicars. It became the chief object of the Popes, after they were freed from the pressing peril of general councils, and were once more settled in their capital and recognized as sovereigns by the European Powers, to subdue their vassals and consolidate their provinces into a homogeneous kingdom.

The ambitious policy of the Papacy.

This plan was conceived and carried out by a succession of vigorous and unscrupulous Pontiffs—Sixtus IV., Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X.—throughout the period of distracting foreign wars which agitated Italy. They

followed, for the most part, one line of policy, which was to place the wealth and authority of the Holy See at the disposal of their relations, Riarios Della Roveres, Borgias, and Medici. Their military delegates, among whom the most efficient captain was the terrible Cesare Borgia, had full power to crush the liberties of cities, exterminate the dynasties of despots, and reduce refractory districts to the Papal sway. For these services they were rewarded with ducal and princely titles, with the administration of their conquests, and with the investiture of fiefs as vassals of the Church. The profits, however, of all these schemes of egotistical rapacity accrued, not to the relatives of the Pontiffs (none of whom, except the Della Roveres in Urbino, founded at this period a dynasty), but to the Holy See.

The disorder of Italy is to the advantage of Clement VII.

In the middle of the first half of the sixteenth century, as we have seen, Spain, France, and Germany, with their Swiss auxiliaries, made havoc of the fairest provinces and cities of Italy. Clement VII., imprisoned in the castle of S. Angelo, forced day and night to gaze upon his capital in flames, and to hear the groans of his tortured people, emerged the only vigorous survivor of all the greater states of the peninsula. Owing to their prostration, there was now no resistance possible to the Pope's secular supremacy within the limits of his authorized dominion. The defeat of France, and the accession of a Spanish monarch to the empire, guaranteed peace. Venice had been stunned and mutilated by the League of Cambray. Florence had been enslaved after the battle of Ravenna. Milan had been relinquished, out-worn and

depopulated, to the nominal ascendency of an impotent Sforza. Naples was a province of the Spanish monarchy. The feudal vassals, and the subject cities of the Holy See, had been ground and churned together by a series of revolutions, unexampled even in the mediæval history of the Italian communes. If, therefore, the Pope could come to terms with the King of Spain for the partition of supreme authority in the peninsula, they might henceforward share the mangled remains of the Italian prey at peace together.

His agreement with Charles V.

This is precisely what they resolved on doing. The basis of their agreement was laid in the treaty of Barcelona in 1529. It was ratified and secured by the treaty of Cambray in the same year. By the former of these compacts Charles V. and Clement swore friendship. Clement promised to Charles the Imperial crown and the investiture of Naples. Charles agreed to reinstate the Pope in Emilia, which had been seized from Ferrara by Julius II.; to procure the restoration of Ravenna and Cervia from the Venetians; and to bestow the hand of his natural daughter, Margaret of Austria, on Clement's bastard nephew, Alessandro de Medici, who was already designated ruler of Florence. By the treaty of Cambray Francis I. relinquished his claims on Italy, receiving in exchange the possession of Burgundy. The French allies, who were sacrificed on this occasion by the most Christian to the most Catholic, monarch, consisted of the republics of Venice and Florence, the dukes of Milan and Ferrara, the princely houses of Orsini and Fregosi in Rome and Genoa, together with the Angevin nobles in the realm of Naples. The *Paix des Dames*, as this act of capitulation was called (since

it had been drawn up in private conclave by Louisa of Savoy and Margaret of Austria, the mother and the aunt of the two signatories), was a virtual acknowledgment of the fact that French influence in Italy was at an end.

Charles V. lands in Italy.

The surrender of Italy by Francis made it necessary that Charles should put in order the vast estates to which he now succeeded as sole master. He was, moreover, Emperor Elect, and he judged this occasion good for assuming the two crowns according to antique custom. Consequently, in July, 1529, he caused Andrea Doria to meet him at Barcelona, crossed the Mediterranean in a rough passage of fourteen days, landed at Genoa on August 12, and proceeded by Piacenza, Parma, and Modena to Bologna, where Clement was already awaiting him. Charles had a body of two thousand Spaniards quartered at Genoa, as well as strong garrisons in the Milanese, and a force of about seven thousand troops collected by the Prince of Orange from the *débris* of the army which had plundered Rome. He took with him as escort some ten thousand men, counting horse and infantry. The total, therefore, of the troops which obeyed his command in Italy might be computed at about twenty-seven thousand, including Spanish cavalry and foot, German landsknechts, and Italian mercenaries. This large army, partly stationed in important posts of defence, partly in movement, was sufficient to make every word of his a law.

His reception at Genoa.

To greet the king on his arrival at Genoa, Clement had deputed two ambassadors, the Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga and Monsignore Gianmatteo Giberti, Bishop of Verona. Gonzaga

was destined to play a part of critical importance in the Tridentine Council. Giberti had made himself illustrious in the Church, by the administration of his diocese on a system which anticipated the coming ecclesiastical reforms. Three other men of high distinction and of fateful future attended on their Imperial master. Of these the first was Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who succeeded Clement in the Papacy, opened the Council of Trent, and added a new reigning family to the Italian princes. The others were the Pope's nephews, Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence designate, and his cousin the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici.

He makes his entry into Bologna.

Great preparations meanwhile were being made in Bologna. The municipality and nobles exerted their utmost in these bad times to render the reception of the Emperor worthy of the lustre which his residence and coronation would confer on them. Gallant guests began to flock into the city. Among these may be mentioned the brilliant Isabella d'Este, sister of Duke Alfonso and mother of the reigning Marquis of Mantua. On November 3 came Andrea Doria with his relative the Cardinal Girolamo of that name. About the same time Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggi, Bishop of Bologna, returned from his legation in England, where (the student of our history will remember) he had been engaged on the question of Henry VIII.'s divorce from Katharine of Aragon. Next day Charles arrived outside the gate, and took up his quarters in the rich convent of Certosa which now forms the Campo Santo. He passed the night of the 4th there, and on the following morning made his entry, in great state, into the city.

Clement, surrounded by a troop of prelates, was seated to receive him on a platform raised before the church of S. Petronio in the great piazza. The king dismounted opposite the Papal throne, ascended the steps beneath a canopy of gold and crimson, and knelt to kiss the Pontiff's feet. When their eyes first met, it was observed that both turned pale; for the memory of outraged Rome was on the minds of both; and Cæsar, while he paid this homage to Christ's Vicar, had the load of those long months of suffering and insult on his conscience. Clement bent down, and with streaming eyes saluted him upon the cheek. Then, when Charles was still upon his knees, they exchanged a few set words referring to the purpose of their meeting, and their common desire for the pacification of Christendom. After this the Emperor Elect arose, seated himself for a while beside the Pope, and next at his invitation escorted him to the great portal of the church. On the way he inquired after Clement's health; to which the Pope replied somewhat significantly that, after leaving Rome, it had steadily improved. He tempered this allusion to his captivity, however, by adding that his eagerness to greet his majesty had inspired him with more than wonted strength and courage. At the doorway they parted; and the Emperor, having paid his devotion to the Sacrament and kissed the altar, was conducted to the apartment prepared for him in the Palazzo Pubblico.

The meeting of the Pope and Emperor.

Charles had come to assume the iron and the golden crowns in Italy. He ought to have journeyed to Monza, or to S. Ambrogio at Milan, for the first, and to the Lateran in

Charles V. receives the Iron Crown of Italy.

Rome for the second of these investitures. An emperor of the Swabian house would have been compelled by precedent and superstition to observe this form. By breaking the old rules, Charles notified the disappearance of the mediæval order, and proclaimed new political ideals to the world. When asked whether he would not follow custom, and seek the Lombard crown in Monza, he brutally replied that he was not wont to run after crowns, but to have crowns running after him. He trampled no less on that still more venerable *religio loci* which attached Imperial rights to Rome. Together with this ancient piety, he swept the Holy Roman Empire into the dust-heap of archaic curiosities. The citizens of Monza were bidden to send the iron crown to Bologna. It arrived on February 20, 1530, and on the 22d Charles received it from the hands of Clement in the chapel of the palace.

His coronation as Emperor.

February 24, which was the anniversary of Charles's birthday, had been fixed for his coronation as Emperor in S. Petronio. This church is one of the largest Gothic buildings in Italy. Its façade occupies the southern side of the piazza. To the left of it is the Palazzo Pubblico, and in order to facilitate the passage of the Pope and the Emperor from the palace to the cathedral a bridge was constructed from an opening in the Hall of the Ancients to the platform in front of the façade. Clement was borne aloft by pontifical grooms in their red liveries. He wore the tiara and a cope of state fastened by Cellini's famous stud, in which blazed the Burgundian diamond of Charles the Bold. Charles walked in royal robes, attended by the Count of Nassau and Don Pietro di Toledo, the Viceroy of Naples, who afterwards gave

his name to the chief street in that city. Before him went the Marquis of Montferrat, bearing the sceptre; Philip, Duke of Bavaria, carrying the golden orb; the Duke of Urbino with the sword, and the Duke of Savoy holding the Imperial diadem. The day was well-nigh over when, after a series of ceremonies during which Charles was consecrated a Deacon, he at length received the Imperial insignia from the Pope's hands. *Accipe gladium sanctum*, *Accipe virgam*, *Accipe pomum*, *Accipe signum gloriæ*. As Clement pronounced these sentences, he gave the sword, the sceptre, the globe and the diadem, in succession, to the Emperor who knelt before him. Charles bent and kissed the papal feet. He then rose and took his throne beside the Pope. It was placed two steps lower than that of Clement. The ceremony of coronation and enthronization being now complete, Charles was proclaimed: *Romanorum Imperator semper augustus*, *mundi totius Dominus*, *universis Dominis*, *universis Principibus et Populis semper venerandus*. When mass was over, Pope and Emperor shook hands. At the Church door Charles held Clement's stirrup, and when the Pope had mounted he led his palfrey for some paces in sign of filial submission.

Society at Bologna.

The few weeks which now remained before Charles left Bologna were spent for the most part in jousts and tournaments, visits to churches, and social entertainments. Veronica Gambara threw her apartments open to the numerous men of letters who crowded from all parts of Italy to witness the ceremony of Charles's coronation. This lady was widow of the late Lord of Correggio, and one of the two most illustrious women of the time. She dwelt with princely state in the palace of the Marsigli; and

here might be seen the poets Bembo and Molza in conversation with witty Berni and stately Trissino. There were also to be seen there Paolo Giovio and Francesco Guicciardini, the chief historians of their time, together with a host of literary and diplomatic worthies attached to the courts of Urbino and Ferrara, or attendant on the train of cardinals who, like Ippolito de' Medici, made a display of culture. Meanwhile the Dowager Marchioness of Mantua and the Duchess of Savoy entertained Italian and Spanish nobles with masqued balls and carnival processions, in the Manzoli and Pepoli palaces. What still remained to Italy of Renaissance splendor, wit, and fashion, after the sack of Rome and the prostration of her noblest cities, was concentrated in this sunset blaze of festivity at Bologna. Nor were the arts without illustrious representatives. Francesco Mazzola, surnamed Il Parmigianino, before whose altar-piece in his Roman studio the rough soldiers of Bourbon's army were said to have lately knelt in adoration, commemorated the hero of the day by painting Charles attended by Fame who crowned his forehead, while an infant Hercules handed him the globe. Titian, too, was there, and received the honor of several sittings from the Emperor. His life-sized portrait of Charles in full armor, seated on a white war-horse, has perished; but it gave such satisfaction at the moment that the fortunate master was made a knight and count palatine, and appointed painter to the Emperor with a fixed pension. From this assemblage of eminent persons we notice the absence of Pietro Aretino. He was at the moment out of favor with Clement VII. But, independently of his obstacle, he may well have thought it imprudent to quit his Venetian re

treat, and expose himself to the resentment of so many princes whom he had alternately loaded with false praises and bemired with loathsome libels.

In the midst of this mirth-making there arrived on March 20 an embassy from England, announcing Henry VIII.'s resolve to divorce himself at any cost from Katharine of Aragon. This may well have recalled both Pope and Emperor to a sense of the gravity of European affairs. The schism of England was now imminent. Germany was distracted by Protestant revolution. The Imperial army was largely composed of mutinous Lutherans. Some of these soldiers had even dared to overthrow a colossal statue of Clement VII. at Bologna. Nor were the gathering forces of revolutionary Protestantism alone ominous. Though Soliman had been repulsed before Vienna, the Turks were still advancing on the eastern borders of the empire. Their fleets swept the Levantine waters, while the pirate dynasties of Tunis and Algiers threatened the whole Mediterranean coast with ruin. Charles, still uncertain what part he should take in the disputes of Germany, left Bologna for the Tyrol on March 23. Clement, on the last day of the month, took his journey by Loreto to Rome.

The Pope and Emperor separate.

Florence alone had been excepted from the articles of peace. When the news had arrived there, in 1527, that Rome was in the hands of a Lutheran rabble, and that the Pope remained imprisoned in the castle of S. Angelo, the citizens proclaimed a Republic. The Grand Council was reformed, and the Constitution was restored on the basis of 1489; only the Gonfalonier was to be re-elected at the expiration of each year.

Florence constitutes itself a Republic.

Nicolò Caponi, a man of fervent piety and moderate political opinions, was the first to hold the office. The new State hastened to form an alliance with France, and Malatesta Baglioni was appointed commander-in-chief with the support of Stefano Colonna. These captains were both of them men of considerable ability.

She prepares for a siege.

During the following year, after the arrival on the scene of Charles V. the Florentines perceived that they would have to sustain a siege. Accordingly they began to put the city in a state for defence, by first destroying the villas with their gardens in the immediate neighborhood of the walls. Outworks were thrown up; the most noticeable of these being the one of great strength, constructed by Michael Angelo on the height of S. Miniato, which, from its command of the town, necessitated its capture before an occupation could be attempted. Machiavelli, who had died during the first days of the new Republic, left behind him a scheme, as we have already noticed, for constituting a national militia. The male population who were fit to serve were immediately enrolled in accordance with this plan, and for a whole year the Florentines displayed the greatest energy in developing the military resources at their command. Unluckily they stood alone, receiving no support either from France or the sister states of Italy, while the Emperor declared his intention of giving them up as rebellious subjects of the Pope.

The Prince of Orange invests Florence.

At the end of August, 1529, the Prince of Orange moved from Rome at the head of the Imperial troops. Although these had been considerably reduced in number by debauchery and disease during the sack of Rome, they still amounted with reinforcements to something like

twenty thousand men. The Prince began by securing the valley of the Arno, and subduing the principal towns of the Florentine territory. He then encamped on the plain of Rissoli, and concentrated his attack on the fortification of S. Miniato.

The siege and defence dragged on for eight months, while outside the walls one hero was found in the person of Francesco Ferrucci. He had learned the art of war under the brilliant and adventurous captain Giovanni de' Medici of the Black Bands. Commissioned to serve the interest of the Republic in the way he thought best, Ferrucci collected all the men he could, and instituted a harassing system of guerilla warfare. His first noticeable success was the capture of Volterra; after which, having by this time enrolled upwards of three thousand men, he made a raid upon the mountains of Pistoja. But Ferrucci's exploits had roused the serious alarm of the Imperialists. He was surrounded by an overwhelming force in the little village of Gavignana, and fell fighting in the streets, together with two thousand of his men. This happened on August 2.

Francesco Ferrucci.

Within the walls there existed two elements of weakness. One was the discord which prevailed among the citizens. They had for a long series of years been divided by several factions. One of them favored the Medici, another Savonarola, a third desired an oligarchy, a fourth demanded a strictly democratic constitution. In these circumstances it was unfortunate that a new Gonfalonier had to be elected every year, for the political disagreements of the city came into more unwholesome prominence on each of these occasions. The other element of weakness, which proved fatal, was

the disloyalty of the general. On receiving news of the defeat and death of Ferrucci, Baglioni, who had never ceased to correspond with the enemy, began to negotiate in earnest, and on August 13 he obliged the citizens to capitulate, without obtaining sufficient guarantees for the security of their persons and property. Consequently, the return of the Medici to power was followed by a series of executions, banishments, and confiscations in which the animosity of the Pope was conspicuous. Alessandro de Medici took up his residence there in July, 1531, and held the State by the help of Spanish mercenaries under the command of Alessandro Vitelli. When he was murdered by a cousin in 1537, having previously poisoned the Cardinal Ippolito who was with him at Bologna, Cosimo de' Medici, the scion of another branch of the ruling family, was appointed duke. Charles V. recognized his title, and Cosimo soon showed his determination to be master in his own duchy. He crushed the exiled party of Filippo Strozzi, who attempted a revolution in the State, exterminated its leaders, and contrived to rid himself of the powerful adherents who had placed him on the throne. But he remained a subservient, though not very willing, ally of Spain, and subsequently profited by this policy. In 1557 Philip II. conceded to him the Sienese territory reserving only its forts, and in 1559 Cosimo obtained the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany from Pope Pius V. This title was confirmed by the Empire to his son Francesco in 1575.

Spain and Rome profit by further changes.

Thus the republics of Florence and Siena were extinguished. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany became an Italian power of the first magnitude, devoted to the absolute principles of

Spanish and Papal sovereignty. The further changes which took place in Italy after the year 1530 turned equally to the profit of Spain and Rome. These were principally the creation of the Duchy of Parma for the Farnese (1545–1559); the resumption of Ferrara by the Papacy in 1597, which reduced the house of Este to the smaller fiefs of Modena and Reggio; the acquisition of Montferrat by Mantua in 1536; the cession of Saluzzo to Savoy in 1598, and the absorption of Urbino into the Papal domains in 1631.

The intellectual and social life of the Italians, though much reduced in vigor, continued, as formerly, to be concentrated in cities marked by distinct local qualities, and boastful of their ancient glories. The courts of Ferrara and Urbino remained centres for literary and artistic coteries. Rome early assumed novel airs of piety, and external conformity to austere patterns became the fashion. Yet the Papal capital did not wholly cease to be the resort of students and of artists. The universities maintained themselves in a respectable position—far different, indeed, from that which they had held in the last century, yet not ignoble. Much was being learned on many lines of study divergent from those prescribed by earlier humanists. Padua, in particular, distinguished itself for medical researches. This was the flourishing time, moreover, of academies, in which, notwithstanding nonsense talked and foolish tastes indulged, some solid work was done for literature and science. The names of Cimento, Della Crusca, and Palazzo Vernio, at Florence, remind us of not unimportant labors in physics, in the analysis of lan-

The cities still the centres of literature and art.

guage, and in the formation of a new dramatic style of music. At the same time the resurgence of popular literature, and the creation of popular theatrical types, were further symptoms of an unimpaired vitality. It is as though the Italian nation, suffocated by Spanish etiquette and poisoned by Jesuitical duplicity, sought to expand healthy lungs in pure and unimpeded air, indulging in dialectical niceties, and immortalizing street jokes by the genius of masqued comedy.

The awakening of Catholicism.

We have to observe, however, that at this epoch Catholic Christianity showed signs of reawakening. The Reformation called forth a new and sincere spirit in the Latin Church; new antagonisms were evoked, and new efforts after self-preservation had to be made by the Papal hierarchy. At first sight we may wonder that the race which had shone with such incomparable lustre from Dante to Ariosto, and which had done so much to create modern culture for Europe, should so quietly have accepted a retrogressive revolution. Yet, when we look closer, this is not surprising. The Italians were fatigued with creation, bewildered by the complexity of their discoveries, uncertain as to the immediate course before them. The Renaissance had been mainly the work of a select few. It had transformed society without permeating the masses of the people. Was it strange that the majority should reflect that, after all, the old ways are the best? This led them to approve the Catholic revival. Was it strange that, after long, distracting, aimless wars, they should hail peace at any price? This lent popular sanction to the Spanish hegemony, in spite of its obvious drawbacks.

It must not be supposed that the change we have indicated passed rapidly over the Italian spirit. When Paul III. succeeded Clement on the Papal throne in 1534, some of the giants of the Renaissance still survived, and much of their great work was yet to be accomplished. Michael Angelo had neither painted the *Last Judgment* nor planned the cupola which crowns S. Peter's. Cellini had not cast his *Perseus* for the Loggia de' Lanzi, nor had Palladio raised San Giorgio from the sea at Venice. Pietro Aretino still swaggered in lordly insolence; and though Machiavelli was dead, the "silver histories" of Guicciardini remained to be written. Bandello, Giraldi, and Il Lasca had not published their *Novelle*, nor had Cecchi given the last touch to Florentine comedy. It was chiefly at Venice, which preserved the ancient forms of her oligarchical independence, that the grand style of the Renaissance continued to flourish. Titian was in his prime; the stars of Tintoretto and Veronese had scarcely risen above the horizon. Sansovino was still producing masterpieces of picturesque beauty in architecture.

There were still some stars shining of the Renaissance.

Meanwhile, the new spirit began to manifest itself in the foundation of orders and institutions tending to purification of Church discipline. The most notable of these was the order of Theatines, established by Thiene and Caraffa. Its object was to improve the secular priesthood, with a view to which end seminaries were opened for the education of priests who took monastic vows, and devoted themselves to special observance of their clerical duties, as preachers, admin-

The Order of the Theatines.

istrators of the sacraments, visitors of the poor and sick.

The Inquisition and the Order of the Jesuits.

If we compare the spirit indicated by these efforts in the first half of the sixteenth century with that of the earlier Renaissance, it will be evident that the Italians were ready for religious change. They sink, however, into insignificance beside two Spanish institutions which about the same period added their weight and influence to the Catholic revival. These were the Inquisition and the Jesuit Order. Paul III. empowered Caraffa in 1542 to re-establish the Inquisition in Rome upon a new basis, resembling that of the Spanish Holy Office, and he sanctioned and confirmed the Company of Jesus between the years 1540 and 1543. The establishment of the Inquisition gave vast disciplinary powers to the Church at the moment when the Council of Trent fixed her dogmas, and proclaimed the absolute authority of the Popes. At the same time, the Jesuits, devoted by their founder in blind obedience to the service of the Papacy, penetrated Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and the transatlantic colonies.

Paul III.

Alessandro Farnese, whom we have been speaking of as Paul III., was born in 1468 of an ancient but decayed family in the neighborhood of Bolsena, and received a humanistic education, according to the taste of the earlier Renaissance. He studied literature with Pomponius Lætus in the Roman Academy, and frequented the gardens of Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence. While still a young man of twenty-five, he was raised to the cardinalate by Alexander VI. This advancement he owed to the influence of his sister

Giulia, surnamed La Bella, who was then the Borgia's mistress. It is characteristic of an epoch during which the bold traditions of the fifteenth century still lingered, that the undraped statue of this Giulia (representing Vanity) was carved for the basement of Paul III.'s monument in the choir of S. Peter's. Both as a patron of the arts and as an elegant scholar in the Latin and Italian languages, Alessandro showed throughout his life the effects of his early training.

Before his elevation to the Papacy, Paul had lived through the reigns of Julius II., Leo X., Adrian VI., and Clement VII. The pupil of Pomponius Lætus, the creature of Roderigo Borgia, the representative of Italian manners and culture before the age of foreign invasion had changed the face of Italy, he was called at the age of sixty-six to steer the ship of the Church through troubled waters and in very altered circumstances. He had witnessed the rise and progress of Protestant revolt in Germany. He had observed the stirrings of a new and sincere spirit of religious gravity, an earnest desire for ecclesiastical reform in his own country. He had watched the duel between France and Spain, during the course of which his predecessors, Alexander VI. and Julius II., restored the secular authority of Rome. He had seen that authority humbled to the dust in 1527, and miraculously rehabilitated at Bologna in 1530. Finally, he had assisted at the coronation of Charles V.; and when he took the reins of power into his hands, he was well aware with what a formidable force he had to cope in the great Emperor.

His large experience.

His measures to stem the Reformation.

The cardinals whom Paul promoted on his accession included the chief of those men who strove in vain for a concordat between Rome and Reformation; it also included the man who stamped Rome with the impress of the counter-Reformation. Yet Caraffa would not have had the fulcrum needed for this decisive exertion of power, had it not been for another act of Paul's reign. This was the convening of the Council of Trent. Paul's attitude towards the Council, which he summoned with reluctance, which he frustrated as far as in him lay, and the final outcome of which he was far from anticipating, illustrates in a most decisive manner his destiny as Pope of the transition.

Paul IV.

Paul died on November 10, 1549. Passing over the short and uneventful reigns of Julius III. and Marcello II., in May, 1555, the Cardinal Giovanni Pietro Caraffa was elected, with the title of Paul IV. He sprang from a high and puissant family of Naples. He was a man of fierce, impulsive, and uncompromising temper, animated by two ruling passions—burning hatred of the Spaniards who were trampling on his native land, and ecclesiastical ambition intensified by rigid Catholic orthodoxy. The first act of his reign was a vain effort to expel the Spaniards from Italy by resorting to the old device of French assistance. The abdication of Charles V. had placed Philip II. on the throne of Spain, and the settlement whereby the Imperial crown passed to his brother Ferdinand had substituted a feeble for a powerful Emperor. But Philip's disengagement from the cares of Germany left him more at liberty to maintain his preponderance in southern Europe. It was fortunate

for Paul IV. that Philip was a bigoted Catholic and a superstitiously obedient son of the Church. These two potentates, who began to reign in the same year, were destined, after the settlement of their early quarrel, to lead and organize the Catholic counter-Reformation. The Duke of Guise, at the Pope's request, marched a French army into Italy. Paul raised a body of mercenaries who were chiefly German Protestants, and opened negotiations with Soliman, entreating the Turk to make a descent on Sicily by sea. Into such a fanatically false position was the chief of Christendom, the most Catholic of all the Pontiffs, driven by his jealous patriotism.

Philip II. of Spain refuses to take advantage of his success.

The Duke of Alva put the forces at his disposal in the Two Sicilies into motion, and advanced to meet the Duke of Guise. But, while the campaign dragged on, Philip won the decisive battle of S. Quentin. The Guise hurried back to France, and Alva marched unresisted upon Rome. There was no reason why the Eternal City should not have been subjected to another siege and sack. The will was certainly not wanting in Alva to humiliate the Pope, who never spoke of Spaniards but as renegade Jews, Marrani, heretics, and personifications of pride. Philip, however, wrote reminding his general that the date of his birth (1527) was that of Rome's calamity, and vowing that he would not signalize the first year of his reign by inflicting fresh miseries upon the capital of Christendom. Alva was ordered to make peace on terms both honorable and advantageous to his Holiness. Consequently, when Alva entered Rome in peaceful pomp, he did homage for his master to the Pope, who was generously

willing to absolve him for his past offences. Paul IV. publicly exulted in the abasement of his conquerors, declaring that it would teach kings in future the obedience they owed to the head of the Church. But Alva did not conceal his discontent. It would have been better, he said, to have sent the Pope to sue for peace and pardon at Brussels, than to allow him to obtain the one and grant the other on these terms.

The Pope turns to root out clerical abuses.

Paul now turned his attention, with the fiery passion that distinguished him, to the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses. On his accession he had published a Bull declaring that this would be a principal object of his reign. Nor had he in the midst of other occupations forgotten his engagement. A congregation specially appointed for examining, classifying, and remedying such abuses had been established. It was divided into three committees, consisting of eight cardinals, fifteen prelates, and fifty men of learning. At the same time the Inquisition was vigorously maintained. Paul extended its jurisdiction, empowered it to use torture, and was constant in his attendance on its meetings and "acts of faith." But now that his plans for the expulsion of the Spaniards had failed, and his nephews had been hurled for misconduct from the high positions to which he had raised them, an exercise of justice which spoke well for his sincerity, there remained no other interest to distract his mind. Every day witnessed the promulgation of some new edict touching monastic discipline, simony, sale of offices, Church ritual, performance of clerical duties, and appointment to ecclesiastical dignities. It was his favorite boast that there would be no need of a council to

restore the church to purity, since he was doing it. And, indeed, his measures formed the nucleus of the Tridentine decrees upon this topic in the final sessions of the council. Under this government Rome assumed an air of exemplary behavior which struck foreigners with mute astonishment. Cardinals were compelled to preach in their Basilicas. The Pope himself, who was vain of his eloquence, preached. Gravity of manners, external signs of piety, a composed and contrite face, ostentation of orthodoxy by frequent confession and attendance at the mass, became fashionable.

Pius IV.

The successor of Paul IV. was a man of very different quality and antecedents. Giovanni Angelo Medici sprang not from the Florentine house of Medici, but from an obscure Lombard stem. Paul III. observed him, took him into favor, and advanced him to the cardinalate. He was hated by Paul IV., who drove him away from Rome. It is probable that this antipathy constituted something to his elevation to the Papacy, when he assumed the title of Pius IV. Of humble origin, a jurist and a worldling, pacific in his policy, devoted to Spanish interests, cautious and conciliatory in the conduct of affairs, ignorant of theology and indifferent to niceties of discipline, he was at all points the exact opposite of the fiery Neapolitan noble, the inquisitor and fanatic, the haughty trampler upon kings, the armed antagonist of Alva, the brusque, impulsive autocrat, the purist of orthodoxy, who preceded him. His trusted counsellor was Cardinal Morone, whom Paul had thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition on a charge of favoring Lutheran opinions, and who was liberated by the rabble in their fury. This was in itself significant of the new *régime* which now

began in Rome. Morone, like his master, understood that the Church could best be guided by diplomacy and acts of peace. The two together brought the Council of Trent to that conclusion which left an undisputed sovereignty in theological and ecclesiastical affairs to the Papacy. It would have been impossible for a man of Caraffa's stamp to achieve what these sagacious temporizers and adroit managers effected.

His conciliatory policy.

Without advancing the same arrogant claims to spiritual supremacy as Paul had made, Pius was by no means a feeble pontiff. He knew that the temper of the times demanded wise concessions; but he also knew how to win through these concessions the reality of power. It was he who initiated and firmly followed the policy of alliance between the Papacy and the Catholic sovereigns. Instead of asserting the interests of the Church in antagonism to secular potentates, he undertook to prove that their interests were identical. Militant Protestantism threatened the civil no less than the ecclesiastical order. The episcopacy attempted to liberate itself from monarchical and pontifical authority alike. Pius proposed to the autocrats of Europe a compact for mutual defence, divesting the Holy See of some of its privileges, but requiring in return the recognition of its ecclesiastical absolutism. In all difficult negotiations he was wont to depend upon himself, treating his counsellors as agents rather than as peers, and holding the threads of diplomacy in his own hands. Thus he was able to transact business as a sovereign with sovereigns, and came to terms with them by means of personal correspondence. The reconstruction of Catholic Christendom, which took visible shape

in the decrees of the Tridentine Council, was actually settled in the courts of Spain, Austria, France, and Rome. The Fathers of the Council were chiefly the mouthpieces of royal and papal cabinets.

Pius IV. was greatly assisted in his work by circumstances of which he knew how to avail himself. Had it not been for the renewed spiritual activity of Catholicism, he might not have been able to carry that work through. He took no interest in theology, and felt no sympathy for the Inquisition. But he prudently left that institution alone to pursue its function of policing the ecclesiastical realm. The Jesuits rendered him important assistance by propagating their doctrine of passive obedience to Rome. Spain supported him with the massive strength of a nation Catholic to the core; and his own independence, as a prudent man of business, uninfluenced by bigoted prejudices or partialities for any sect, enabled him to manipulate all resources at his disposal for the main object of uniting Catholicism and securing Papal supremacy.

His prudence obtains support.

Soon after the election of Pius the state of Europe made the calling of a general council indispensable. Paul's impolitic pretensions had finally alienated England from the Roman Church. Scotland was on the point of declaring herself Protestant. The Huguenots were growing stronger every year in France, the Queen Mother, Catherine de' Medici, being at that time inclined to favor them. The Confession of Augsburg had long been recognized in Germany. The whole of Scandinavia, with Denmark, was lost to Catholicism. The Low Countries, in spite of Philip,

The defections in Europe from the Church.

Alva, and the Inquisition, remained intractable. Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland were alienated and ripe for open schism. The tenets of Zwingli had taken root in German Switzerland. Calvin was gaining ground in the French Cantons. Geneva had become a stationary fortress, the stronghold of belligerent reformers, whence heresy sent forth its missionaries, and promulgated subversive doctrines through the medium of an ever active press. In 1559 the outlook for the Church was very gloomy: no one could predict whether a general council might not increase her difficulties by weakening the Papal power, and sowing further seeds of discord among her few faithful adherents.

Council of Trent reopened.

The council was opened again at Trent, by Cardinal Gonzaga and three others, on January 15, 1562. In spite of its inauspicious commencement, Pius declared the council a general council, and that it should be recognized as a continuation of that council which had been held in the same town in 1545. This rendered the co-operation of Protestants impossible, since they would have been compelled to accept the earlier dogmatic resolutions of the Fathers. Fresh and fresh difficulties and discussions arose, until Pius adhered to two important lines of policy, the energetic pursuit of which speedily brought the council to a peaceful termination. These were to meet the demand for a searching reformation of the Church with cheerful acquiescence, but to oppose a counter-demand that the secular states in all their ecclesiastical relations should at the same time be reformed. The latter would imply a threat of alienating patronage and revenue from the princes; and his re-

fusal indicated plainly that the tiara and the crowns had interests in common. He sought to develop the diplomatic system upon which he had already tentatively entered.

The council terminated in December with an act of submission which placed all its decrees at the pleasure of the Papal sanction. Pius was wise enough to pass and ratify the decrees of the Tridentine Fathers by a Bull dated on December 26, 1563, reserving to the Papal sovereign the sole right of interpreting them in doubtful or disputed cases. This he could well afford to do; for not an article had been penned without his concurrence, and not a stipulation had been made without a previous understanding with the Catholic powers. The very terms, moreover, by which his ratification was conveyed secured his supremacy, and conferred upon his successors and himself the privileges of a court of ultimate appeal. At no previous period in the history of the Church had so wide, so undefined, and so unlimited an authority been accorded to the See of Rome.

The gain by its decisions to the Papacy.

The personal qualities of Carlo Borromeo were of grave importance in the election of a successor to his uncle. He had ruled the Church during the last years of Pius IV., and the newly-appointed cardinals were his dependents. Had he attempted to exert his power for his own election, he might have met with opposition. He chose to use it for what he considered the deepest Catholic interests. This unselfishness led to the selection of a man, Michele Ghislieri, whose antecedents rendered him formidable to the still corrupt members of the Roman hierarchy,

Pius V.

but whose character was precisely of the stamp required for giving solidity to the new phase on which the Church had entered. As Pius IV. had been the exact opposite to Paul IV., so Pius V. was a complete contrast to Pius IV. He had passed the best years of his life as chief of the Inquisition. Devoted to theology and to religious exercises, he lacked the legal and mundane faculties of his predecessor. But these were no longer necessary. What was now required was a Pope who should, by personal example and rigid discipline, impress Rome with the principles of orthodoxy and reform. Carlo Borromeo, self-conscious, perhaps, of the political incapacity which others noticed in him, and fervently zealous for the Catholic revival, devolved this duty on Michele Ghislieri, who completed the work of his two predecessors.

The rigor of his administration.

Pius V. embodied in himself those ascetic virtues which Carlo Borromeo and the Jesuits were determined to propagate throughout the Catholic world. He never missed a day's attendance on the prescribed services of the Church, said frequent masses, fasted at regular intervals, and continued to wear the coarse woollen shirt which formed a part of his friar's costume. In his piety there was no hypocrisy. The people saw streams of tears pouring from the eyes of the Pontiff bowed in ecstasy before the Host. A rigid reformation of the churches, monasteries, and clergy was immediately set on foot throughout the Papal States. Monks and nuns complained that austerities were expected from them which were not included in the rules to which they vowed obedience. The severity of the Inquisition was augmented, and the *Index Expurgatorius*

began to exercise a stricter jurisdiction over books. The Pope spent half his time at the Holy Office, inquiring into cases of heresy of ten or twenty years' standing. From Florence he caused Carnesecchi to be dragged to Rome and burned; from Venice the refugee Guido Zanetti of Fano was delivered over to his tender mercies; and the excellent Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, was sent from Spain to be condemned to death before the Roman tribunal. Criminal justice, meanwhile, was administered with greater purity; and the composition of crimes for money, if not wholly abolished, was moderated. In the collation to bishoprics and other benefices, the same spirit of equity appeared; for Pius inquired scrupulously into the character and fitness of aspirants after office.

The Catholic States support him.

While Pius V., lean, wasted, with sunken eyes and snow-white hair, looking ten years older than he really was, lived this exemplary monastic life upon the Papal throne, he ruled Catholic Christendom more absolutely than any one of his predecessors. As the Papacy recognized its dependence on the sovereigns, so the sovereigns in their turn perceived that religious conformity was the best safeguard of their secular authority. Therefore the Catholic States subscribed, one after the other, to the Tridentine profession of faith, and adopted one system in matters of Church discipline. A new Breviary and a new Missal were published with the Papal sanction. Seminaries were established for the education of ecclesiastics, and the Jesuits labored in their propaganda. The Inquisition and the Congregation of the Index redoubled their

efforts to stamp out heresy by fire and iron, and by the suppression or mutilation of books.

The progress of knowledge arrested.

Under these circumstances the humanistic and artistic impulses of the Renaissance reached the point of exhaustion; the printing-presses, which had been so numerous and active at Venice, were suddenly reduced to less than half their number; classical studies languished at the Universities; and, what was still more serious, the philosophical speculations, which had been begun with ardor in the prime of the Renaissance, received a fatal check, just at the very moment when the versatile Italian genius seemed to be upon the point of contributing a new metaphysic to Europe. Of those who fell in the intellectual revolt against ecclesiastical authority and tradition, there were none of clearer vision, or of greater intrepidity as a writer, than the one we select to illustrate the perils attending this encounter with the reactionary forces which the Church was so well disposed and so able to array against those who fell.

Giordano Bruno.

Giordano Bruno was born in 1548 at Nola, an ancient Greek city close to Naples. His parents, though people of some condition, were poor; and this circumstance may probably account for his entering the monastery of the Dominicans at Naples before he had completed his fifteenth year. Even in his boyhood, and after he had received priest's orders at the age of twenty-four, he showed a want of prudence in his intercourse with his superiors. Some speculative doubts about the metaphysics of the Trinity led him into such danger with the Inquisition that he took flight, made his way to Rome, and obtained admittance at the

monastery of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. News soon reached him that the prosecution begun at Naples was being transferred to the metropolis. This implied so serious a danger that there was no other resource open to him but to fling away his monk's habit and to quit the city in this comparative disguise.

His wanderings lead him to England.

We must pass briefly over the many years which Bruno now spent in wandering from city to city, through the North of Italy to Geneva, where he naturally found no resting-place, for he had an even fiercer antipathy for dissenting than for orthodox bigotry. In 1577 we find him at Toulouse, lecturing, and obtaining the degree of Doctor in Philosophy with a readership in the University. This post he held for two years, and then, without apparent reason, moved on to Paris, where he remained for four years under the favorable notice of Henri III., who, on Bruno's departure for England, supplied him with introductions to the French Ambassador in London, Michel de Castelnau. In the house and in the suite of this excellent man, Bruno passed two years of domestic and industrious ease, during which some of his most important works were published. Besides metaphysical subjects, we have animated pictures of the unsavory condition of the streets of London and the rough manners of the lower classes in the time of Elizabeth. He is hardly more complimentary to the "pedants and ignorant professors of the old learning" whom he encountered in a visit to Oxford. Of his own appearance, now in his thirty-seventh year, we gather that he was a man of middling height, spare figure, and of olive complexion, wearing a short chestnut-colored beard. He spoke with vivacity and copious

rhetoric, aiming rather at force than at purity of diction, indulging in trenchant metaphors to adumbrate recondite thoughts, passing from grotesque images to impassioned flights of declamation, blending acute arguments and pungent satires with grave mystical discourses. The impression of originality produced by his familiar conversation rendered him agreeable to princes.

He falls into the hands of the Inquisition.

His wanderings, to be soon now terminated, led him again through Paris to Wittenberg and other places in Germany, and in the spring of 1590 he took shelter in a Carmelite monastery at Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he lived on terms of intimacy with the printers Wechel and Fischer and other men of learning, and where nothing in the way of persecution arose to disturb him. But in an evil hour he accepted an invitation to visit Venice from Giovanni Mocenigo, who belonged to one of the most illustrious of the still surviving noble families of that city. The long line of their palaces on the Grand Canal, and the one especially in which Lord Byron lodged, has impressed the mind of every tourist. This Mocenigo was a man verging on middle life, superstitious, subservient to his priest, but alive in a furtive way to perilous ideas. A book of Bruno's, perhaps the *De Monade*, had fallen in his way, and he seems to have imagined that Bruno might teach him occult science, or direct him on a royal road to knowledge. He was soon undeceived with regard to this, and in his suspicious discontent began to regard Bruno as an impostor who, instead of furnishing the wares for which he bargained, put him off with declamations on the nature of the

universe. What was worse, he became convinced that this charlatan was an obstinate heretic. Under these circumstances, "induced by the obligation of his conscience and by order of his confessor," he on May 23, 1592, denounced his guest to the Inquisition.

His trial.

Bruno appeared before his judges on May 29. His examination continued at intervals from this date till July 30. His depositions consist for the most part of an autobiographical statement which he volunteered, and of a frank elucidation of his philosophical doctrines in their relation to orthodox belief. Over and over again he relies for his defence upon the old distinction between philosophy and faith, claiming to have advocated views as a thinker which he did not hold as a Christian. At the very end of his examination, he placed himself in the hands of his judges, "confessing his errors with a willing mind," acknowledging that he had "erred and strayed from the Church," begging for such castigation as should not "bring public dishonor on the sacred robe which he had worn," and promising to "show a noteworthy reform, and to recompense the scandal he had caused by edification at least equal in magnitude."

His sentence and death.

We do not behold him again till he enters once more the Minerva at Rome to receive his death sentence on Feb. 9, 1600, after enduring seven years of imprisonment. What happened in the interval is almost blank. On that day he was brought before the Holy Office at S. Maria sopra Minerva. In the presence of assembled cardinals, theologians, and civil magistrates, his heresies were first recited. Then he was excommunicated and degraded from his priestly and monastic offices.

Lastly, he was handed over to the secular arm, "to be punished with all clemency and without effusion of blood." Thereupon Bruno uttered the significant and memorable words: "Peradventure ye pronounce this sentence on me with a greater fear than I receive it." They were the last words he spoke in public. He was removed to the state prison, where he remained eight days, in order that he might have time to repent. But he continued obdurate. Being an apostate priest and a relapsed heretic, he could hope for no remission of his sentence. Therefore, on Feb. 17, he marched to a certain and horrible death. The stake was set up on the Campo di Fiora. Just before the pile was set on fire, they offered him the crucifix. He turned his face from it in stern disdain. It was not Christ, but his own soul, wherein he believed the Deity resided, that sustained Bruno at the supreme moment. No cry, no groan, escaped his lips. Kepler, who had conceived a high opinion of Bruno's speculations, and pointed him out to Galileo as the man who had divined the infinity of solar systems in their correlation to one infinite order of the universe, though not an eye-witness, informed his correspondent Brenger that Bruno "bore his agonizing death with fortitude, abiding by the asseveration that all religions are vain, and that God identifies Himself with the world, circumference and centre."

His philosophical views.

As a personality, endowed with singular energy and remarkable independence, Bruno towers eminent among the powerful characters of that age so rich in individualities. The two currents of Renaissance curiosity, which had produced criticism and naturalism, met and blended in his intellect. As a thinker, his chief merit was to have perceived

bearings of the Copernican discovery. He saw that the substitution of the heliocentric for the former geocentric theory of our system destroyed at one blow large portions of the Christian mythology. In other speculations he anticipated to a large extent the philosophies of Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Hegel, and the most recent conclusions of natural science. In his treatment of theology and ethics he was no less original and prophetic. It is obvious that he regarded no one creed as final, no sacred book as exclusively inspired, no single race as chosen, no teacher or founder of a faith as divine, no Church as privileged with salvation.

Catholicism gains in strength.

The pontificates of Paul IV., Pius IV., and Pius V., differing as they did in very important details, had achieved a solid triumph for reformed Catholicism, of which both the diplomatical and the ascetic parties in the Church, Jesuits and Theatines, were eager to take advantage. A new spirit in the Roman polity prevailed, upon the reality of which its future force depended; and the men who embodied this spirit had no mind to relax their hold on its administration. After the death of Pius V. they had to deal with a Pope who resembled his penultimate predecessor, Pius IV., more than the last pontiff.

Gregory XIII.

Ugo Buoncompagno, the scion of a *bourgeois* family settled in Bologna, began his career as a jurist. He took orders in middle life, was promoted to the cardinalate, and attained the supreme honor of the Holy See in 1572. He was a good companion, easy of access, genial in manners, remarkable for the facility with which he cast off care and gave himself to sanguine expectations. In an earlier period

of Church history he might have reproduced the Papacy of Paul II. or Innocent VIII. As it was, Gregory XIII. fell at once under the potent influence of Jesuit directors. His confessor, the Spanish Francesco da Toledo, impressed upon him the necessity of following the footsteps of Paul IV. and Pius V. It was made plain that he must conform to the new tendencies of the Catholic Church; and in his neophyte's zeal he determined to outdo his predecessors. The example of Pius V. was not only imitated but surpassed. Gregory XIII. celebrated three masses a week, built churches, and enforced parochial obedience throughout his capital. The Jesuits in his reign attained to the maximum of their wealth and influence.

The satisfaction he gives to the city is wanting in the country.

It was noticed that the mode of life in Rome during the reign of Gregory XIII. struck a just balance between license and austerity, and that general satisfaction pervaded society. Outside the city this contentment did not prevail. Gregory threw his States into disorder by reviving obsolete rights of the Church on lands mortgaged or granted with obscure titles. The petty barons rose in revolt, armed their peasants, fomented factions in the country towns, and filled the land with brigands. Under the leadership of men like Alfonso Piccolomini and Roberto Malatesta, these marauding bands assumed the proportion of armies. The neighboring Italian States—Tuscany, Venice, Naples, Parma, all of whom had found the Pope arbitrary and aggressive in his dealings with them—encouraged the bandits by offering them an asylum and refusing to co-operate with Gregory for their reduction.

His successor, Sixtus V., found the whole Papal dominion in confusion. It was impossible to collect the taxes. Life and property were nowhere safe. By a series of savage enactments and stern acts of justice, Sixtus swept the brigands from his States. He then applied his powerful will to the collection of money and the improvement of his provinces. Encouragement was extended not only to agriculture, but also to industries and manufactures. The country towns obtained wise financial concessions, and the unpopular resumption of lapsed lands and fiefs was discontinued. Roads and bridges throughout the States of the Church were repaired. Rome meanwhile began to assume her present aspect by various architectural undertakings, and fresh water was brought into the city by the famous *Acqua Felice*. Sixtus loved building, but he was no lover of antiquity. For pagan monuments of art he showed a monastic animosity, dispersing or mutilating the statues of the Vatican and Capitol; turning a Minerva into an image of the Faith by putting a cross in her hand; surmounting the columns of Trajan and Antonine with figures of Peter and Paul; destroying the Septizonium of Severus and wishing to lay sacrilegious hands on Cæcilia Metella's tomb. To mediæval relics he was hardly less indifferent. The old buildings of the Lateran were thrown down to make room for the heavy modern palace. But, to atone in some measure for these acts of vandalism, Sixtus placed the cupola upon S. Peter's, and raised the obelisk in the great piazza which was destined to be circled with Bernini's colonnades. This obelisk he topped with a cross. Christian inscriptions, signalizing the triumph of the

Sixtus V. puts the crown upon Catholicism.

Pontiff over infidel emperors, the victory of Calvary over Olympus, the superiority of Rome's saints and martyrs to Rome's old deities and heroes, left no doubt that what remained of the Imperial city had been subdued to Christ and purged of paganism. Nothing was more absent from the mind of Sixtus than any attempt to reconcile Ancient and Modern. He was bent on proclaiming the ultimate triumph of Catholicism, not only over antiquity, but also over the Renaissance.

THE END.

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